FBIS
DAILY REPORT
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PRESS COMMENT ON DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

NOVOYE VREMYA

LD072135 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 7 Jan 83

["Is the United States Ready for Accord?" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS -- "The course of the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks, like the American administration's activities, show that Washington is interested in preserving a stalemate at the talks rather than in constructive advance. This seems to be due to its intention to 're-arm' Western Europe at all costs with its medium-range nuclear missiles". The conclusion if made by the NEW TIMES [NOVOYE VREMYA] weekly in an editorial today, analysing the results of two rounds in the Geneva talks.

In comparing the sides' positions at the negotiations, the weekly points out that the Soviet Union would like to gear the discussion of the arms limitation and reduction problem towards preparing a mutually acceptable accord and works for the strict and complete observance of the principle of equality and undiminished security in a future agreement. The United States, however, has come to the talks with a desire to gain advantages for itself and rejects the principle of equality and undiminished security.

Moscow has suggested limitation and reduction of all strategic armaments, and not some individual, arbitrarily chosen types of them, the weekly writes.

The American side stubbornly refuses to take a comprehensive approach. It maintains that ballistic missiles have to be reduced in the first place, and bombers and cruise missiles later.

"If the entire package of American proposals were accepted", the weekly says, "the USSR would have to dismantle over 90 percent of all the ICBM's that constitute the basis of the USSR's strategic defence potential. The United States would be able to increase considerably the number of warheads on its ICBM's and to carry on with its programmes to enhance strategic means".

"The American approach is therefore a plan of unilateral disarmament for the USSR and of ensuring strategic superiority for the United States".

"The Soviet Union", NEW TIMES continues, "is suggesting concrete joint steps aimed at closing, in the framework of an accord on strategic arms limitation and reduction, all possible channels of the arms race, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The American stand in fact programmes such a race for years to come and in fields where the United States seeks to gain special advantages".

The article points out that during the second round the U.S. delegation declined to consider the Soviet delegation's draft foundations of accord between the USSR and the USA on the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments. The American side also rejects the Soviet proposal for freezing already now strategic armaments and stopping the process of their quantitative and qualitative build-up.

"The U.S. Administration which persists in its absolutely unilateral approach is entirely to blame for the deadlock at the talks", the weekly concludes. It Washington hopes to gain military advantages for the United States, these are vain calculations. The Soviet Union will not allow such a turn of events".

SELSKAYA ZHIZN

LD080824 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 8 Jan 83

["Two Approaches" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS -- The Soviet Union pursues a clear, consistent line towards the preservation and strengthening of peace and towards solution of such most important tasks of today as removing the growing threat of nuclear war and establishing control over the nuclear arms race with a view to bringing about an end to it, Gennadiy Shishkin writes today in SELSKAYA ZHIZN (rural life). The latest Soviet proposals, put forward by Yuriy Andropov at the celebration meeting in honour of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, on limiting and reducing strategic arms and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe have aroused a particularly strong response around the world.

The peace forces, the news analyst points out, regard the Soviet proposals as a reliable way to solving the central question of present-day international life -- that of war and peace. The Soviet Union's concrete proposals based on the principle of parity, equality and equal security of the sides pave the way for a radical reduction of the armaments of the two sides -- greatly to the benefit of universal peace and security.

And vice versa, as is now admitted not only by West European unprejudiced observers but also by American ones, the USA up to now made only such proposals which are overtly aimed at eliminating the strategic parity and at securing advantages for itself. "Herein lies the explanation of the obvious fact that the United States stubbornly rejects the principle of equality and equal security as the basis of current negotiations in Geneva. All this gives rise to legitimate misgivings of the international public that the USA and NATO do not intend at all to reduce nuclear armaments. Washington obviously seeks to frustrate agreements so that, by pleading failure in negotiations, it could deploy its missiles in the European Continent in this or that way and continue to build up its strategic potential."

IZVESTIYA's Kondrashev

LD091820 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] Supporting and strengthening peace in Europe are problems of great interest today, not only for the people of Europe but also in other parts of the world. The United States is no exception. The explanation is simple: The nuclear conflict in Europe would inevitably affect the entire world. This is the initial thought in commentary by Stanislav Kondrashev, a news analyst for the national daily IZVESTIYA. Here is what he writes:

People in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries realize very well the indisputable danger of such a conflict; therefore, the Soviet leadership is tirelessly seeking ways of preventing a nuclear war in Europe. The end of last year and the beginning of 1983 witnessed the widescale offensive made by the Soviet Union for peace. Together with the other members of the Warsaw Treaty organization, the Soviet Union proposed that the NATO countries conclude a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and support relations of peace between the two organizations. The Soviet Union has already made a number of concrete proposals to lessen nuclear fears in Europe. These proposals by the USSR were approved and supported by other socialist countries. This is stated in the political declaration made by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty organization held in Prague recently.

The Soviet Union is proposing an agreement to renounce all types of nuclear weapons geared for targets in Europe, both tactical and medium-range weapons. Another proposal is for both the Soviet Union and the NATO countries to reduce their medium-range nuclear weapons by three times. [as heard] The Soviet Union has also stated that it is prepared to retain in Europe as many missiles as Britain and France have and not one missile more.

What of the reaction of the United States and the other NATO countries to this peace proposal? At first, Washington wanted to wave it away, something like an annoying fly. This is not a very serious response, to say the least. Later, when Washington saw the wide response in Western Europe to the Soviet proposals, it had to soften its categorical verdict. Now the American position can be qualified perhaps as: careful, wait and see. The Soviet Union, along with other socialist countries, still would like the United States to give up its plans to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe. However, the American zero [option] does not mean a general Western zero, since the French and the British officially have 162 medium-range missiles targeted on the Soviet Union and, obviously, the Soviet Union should have the same amount.

The Soviet initiative deserves a sober and realistic response from Paris, London and other NATO members, and that is also the opinion of all Warsaw Treaty member nations. Indeed, the French and British are not at the talks in Geneva but that does not mean that the British and French missiles do not exist in the overall balance. In London, and especially in Paris, there is talk of national and so-called independent nuclear forces. Even the most zealous cannot deny that whatever may be said about independence, the truth of the matter is that French nuclear forces add to the total NATO arsenal and not to that of the Warsaw Treaty nations and their targets are not in the West but in the East.

The Soviet Union and its allies cannot ignore this fact and this is understood by objective observers in the West. Prof Richard Uilman of Princeton University, for example, has written in THE NEW YORK TIMES that the Soviet leadership in its statements, invariably stresses that a fair agreement on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe should take into consideration all missiles and not only those with the stars and stripes painted on them; and the sooner this is understood in Washington and the other NATO capitals, the faster we can get on with practical steps for nuclear disarmament in Europe. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are ready for this, and this was stated clearly in the political declaration adopted by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty nations.

IZVESTIYA's Matveyev

PM071641 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 83 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Notes": "For a Businesslike, Honest Approach"]

[Text] It is no secret that some NATO figures would like to brush aside the new Soviet peace initiatives advanced in the report of Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the ceremonial session in Moscow devoted to the USSR's 60th anniversary. But they definitely will not succeed in doing so. A lively debate has gotten underway over these initiatives in very different circles, including circles close to Western governments.

Many representatives of the public have urgently appealed to the Governments of the United States, Britain and France -- Western countries possessing nuclear weapons -- to respond constructively to the USSR's proposals.

Most comments are being made on the Soviet proposals that there should be no medium-range Soviet and American missiles at all in Europe confronting each other, while the USSR would keep exactly the same number of these missiles as Britain and France have.

In addition, the USSR considers it important to reach agreement also on equal but considerably lower levels than at present on both sides with regard to aircraft which carry nuclear weapons.

Speaking about these proposals, State Department spokesman Hughes maintained that their adoption would mean the USSR's achieving superiority over the United States, since, he said, the United States does not have corresponding forces counterbalancing the Soviet forces.

But what about submarines with nuclear missiles on board and the U.S. aircraft carriers which are part of the NATO forces in West Europe? Is this a "trifle" which can be disregarded? For all the administrations in Washington, including the present one, have considered and now consider the U.S. submarines equipped with nuclear missiles an inalienable component of the American nuclear "triad." Its two other elements are land-based missiles and bomber aircraft.

Incidentally, when you count up all the American nuclear facilities in NATO, you see the groundlessness of the arguments put forward by Washington to the effect that adopting the Soviet proposals would place NATO in an unequal position as regards the number of nuclear warheads. Once again the American bombers, submarines and aircraft carriers which are part of the NATO forces in West Europe are arbitrarily being disregarded.

At recent meetings with journalists in Washington, U.S. Administration spokesmen have alleged with a persistence worthy of better application that the nuclear missile forces of other Western countries, apart from the United States, have nothing to do with NATO. Are the British submarines with nuclear missiles on board, for example, really a weapon targeted on the United States? Of course not. British officials do not hide the fact that they are preserving and improving their submarine fleet with precisely our country in mind. And Washington is very actively helping London in this respect. The Polaris missiles and the new type of missiles which British submarines are now being prepared to take on board are of American manufacture.

All these "arguments" are just excuses which merely attest to the American side's reluctance to hold a serious discussion about a real contribution to ending the nuclear arms race.

Real possibilities objectively exist for drawing up the necessary compromise agreement at the talks being held between the USSR and the United States on questions of nuclear arms. Yu.V. Andropov indicated this in his replies to the questions put by the American political commentator J. Kingsbury-Smith. Such a compromise is possible on a basis which would not harm the interests of either side and would lead to a radical reduction in the arms of both sides -- to the great benefit of world peace and security. This is precisely the aim of the USSR's specific proposals, and this fact is recognized by all objectively-minded politicians and many newspapers in the world.

"The CPSU Central Committee general secretary," Britain's THE GUARDIAN wrote recently, "took a realistic and logical stand for the holding of talks. He compares one European arms system with another (or with two others taken together)."

Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], pointed out in an article in the ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG newspaper published in Mainz in the FRG: "I insistently warn against rejecting the Soviet proposal or 'leaving it to one side.' Moreover, it should not be alleged that it was merely a consequence of the West's tough stance. Any peaceful dialogue finds itself in jeopardy if one side's readiness is viewed merely as weakness."

H.-J. Vogel, SPD candidate for the FRG chancellorship, urged the FRG Government to "study most earnestly the new Soviet proposals in the sphere of medium-range missiles."

In an aritcle published in THE NEW YORK TIMES C. Vance, former U.S. secretary of state, and R. Hunter, who was a member of the U.S. National Security Council, write that President Reagan's notorious "'zero option' cannot serve as a basis for talks." The writers urge the U.S. Administration to submit the SALT II treaty to the Senate for ratification without delay as a starting point for further efforts in containing and reducing U.S. and USSR strategic arms.

The overwhelming majority of those who are now discussing the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives believe that Washington should make a serious reply to them. As H. Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, declared, "anyone in the West who rejects these proposals with excessive haste will be taking on a grave political responsibility." An apt warning.

Beglov Commentary

AU071240 [Editorial Report] East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 6 Jan 83 on page 2 carries an 800-word commentary by Spartak Beglov headlined "1983 -- A Year of Change?" The author refers to the increase in the number of voices in the United States against the arms race, stating that people have realized that "with the MX missile a superfluous arms race starts in the nuclear arsenals that cannot be justified by any considerations." As a result, the "truth of the real balance of powers becomes evident" and is revealed in "the falsified basis for the new round of the arms race initiated by Washington." The author continues by stressing that now the ruling circles of the West see that the USSR has not left them any chance of achieving superiority in any kind of arms and that thus the public and an increasing number of Western Government officials are calling for realism in military strategy and policy. Beglov goes on to stress that the USSR would be forced to take countermeasures should the "new American first strike missles appear, including those which are to be directed at the USSR from 'the West European suburb' in 1983." He states that the relations between the USSR and those countries in which the missiles are deployed would worsen and that it would become impossible "to support the American play to use the Geneva negotiations to in fact disguise the complete preparation for positioning the new missiles."

PARTY, GOVERNMENT APPROVE WARSAW PACT MEETING

LD080634 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 8 Jan 83

["In the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS -- The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, having examined the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states (Prague, 4-5 January 1983), fully and wholly approve the activity of the Soviet delegation headed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuriy Andropov.

The Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was an event of major international significance.

In accordance with an established tradition, the supreme leaders of the allied socialist states jointly analysed the present-day situation in Europe and in the world at large and defined the further concerted actions of fraternal countries in the struggle against the threat of war, for the preservation and extension of detente and for the development of international cooperation.

The world situation is characterised by considerable tension, caused by the incessant attempts of the aggressive imperialist circles, first and foremost in the United States, to break the existing strategic balance in the world and to secure military superiority for themselves so as to impose their writ on the course of world developments. The new round of the arms race, both in nuclear and in conventional arms, that is being unleashed by them can bring about an even more dangerous instability in the world and seriously aggravate the solution of urgent economic and social problems facing individual countries and mankind as a whole.

The USSR and the other allied socialist states are countering this militarist line of imperialism with a consistently constructive course of peace, international security and detente. The Warsaw Treaty member-states opened the chronicles of the New Year of 1983 with a large-scale action aimed at improving the world political climate. They proposed in the Political Declaration adopted in Prague a real alternative to a slide to nuclear catastrophe.

Particular importance is attached to the new proposal of the socialist countries to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of relations of peace between the states participating in the two military and political groupings, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. It is important that the states to which this major peace initiative is addressed in the first place should approach it with every attention.

There opens up a practical opportunity to halt the present dangerous development of events, to channel them into a healthy direction, to enhance reciprocal trust, and to tackle one by one the tasks of limiting and reducing the arsenals of weapons, especially nuclear.

At present, it depends on the USA and its NATO allies whether the opportunity to prevent the build-up of missile-nuclear weapons in Europe will materialise, and whether the threat suspended over the peoples of the continent, and over the whole world for that matter, will be reduced or, on the contrary, steeply increase.

The Soviet Union is doing all it can to make reason prevail in international affairs. It will continue to consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence with states of the other social system, remaining vigilant in the face of the schemes of the enemies of socialism and peace and taking the necessary measures to safeguard the country's security.

The PCC meeting has demonstrated that in the present-day conditions there is a growing role to the all-round cooperation of the socialist states, to their concerted struggle for the common goals on the world scene, to the exchange of experience in the socialist and communist construction, and to the pooling of efforts in economy, science and technology. All this multiplies the forces of the socialist community as a whole, helping resolve the constructive tasks before all of its participants.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR deem it necessary to emphasise that the cause of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries has always occupied and will continue to occupy a special, priority place in the international policy of the party and the Soviet state.

MEDIA ASSESS PROPOSALS OF PRAGUE CONFERENCE

PRAVDA Editorial

LD082226 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] The leading article in the Soviet daily PRAVDA deals with the overriding issue of modern times, the struggle for peace and for the relaxation of international tension. Here is a summary of the article:

Serene and peaceful skies have always been man's cherished dream. Now that a huge amount of nuclear weaponry has been piled up on earth and the war threat is on the increase again, a durable and stable peace is the primary and most imperative need of all nations. People need peace as they need the sun, as they need the air they breathe.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have always been consistent and stalwart peace champions on the international arena. At the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states held on the 4th and 5th of this month in Prague, Czechoslovakia, they proved their readiness to place on the scales of peace all of their international prestige, their political and economic potential. In keeping with long-standing tradition, the top leaders of the allied socialist states met to analyze the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole. They charted a coordinated course of action for further moves by the countries in the struggle against the military threat, for the preservation and deepening of the relaxation process and for the advancement of international cooperation.

Speaking in an interview for the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, Yuriy Andropov stressed the following: The main conclusion to be drawn from our comradely exchange of opinions at the conference may be defined this way, he said. A reply to the calculations of aggressive imperialist circles to push back socialism should be a further strengthening of our unity, of our economic and defence potential. It would be fair to say that the security of our countries, and the future of peace as a whole hinge on that.

It is said in the Political Declaration unanimously adopted in Prague by the Warsaw Treaty member-states that there is no more important task for the nations that that of maintaining peace and stopping the arms race.

The Soviet Union and the allied socialist countries counter the militarist line of imperialism with a consistently constructive course of peace, international security and relaxation. In their Political Declaration adopted in Prague the socialist countries advanced a real alternative to a downslide toward nuclear catastrophe. However complicated the world situation might be there are possibilities onhand for overcoming the dangerous stage in international relations. The present course of events should be halted and reversed into a sound channel. The forces of peace are more potent than the forces of war. It all depends on concerted and purposeful action.

Now that the Soviet Union has undertaken a unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the Warsaw Treaty member-countries expect all the nuclear powers to make a similar commitment. Of special significance is the new proposal advanced by the socialist countries to conclude a treaty on the mutual nonuse of armed force and on maintaining relations of peace between the states participant in the two military and political alliances, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.

This major peace initiative opens up a practical possibility for resolving, one after the other, the tasks of arms limitation and reduction, particularly of the nuclear arsenal. The ball is now in the hands of the United States and its allies. The Prague meeting pointed to the need of strict compliance with treaties and agreements defining the territorial and political realities of present-day Europe. The meeting urged honoring the principles and clauses of the Helsinki Final Act and translating them steadfastly into life.

The Prague conference called attention to the grave danger to the European nations inherent in the intention of the NATO bloc to raise new American medium-range missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries. The Warsaw Treaty member-states opted for the implementation of a practical move toward armed forces and arms reduction by the Soviet Union and the United States in central Europe on the groundwork of reciprocity. They came out in favor of nuclear free zones in certain regions of the continent and pointed to the need for a resultative termination of the Madrid meeting. They made it clear that revitalization of the world situation largely depends on the liquidation of the present flashpoints of military conflicts in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in other regions, and on precluding such flashpoints in the future.

The Soviet people approve the results of the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee, which respond to the vital interests of humanity, PRAVDA writes in conclusion of its editorial.

PRAVDA International Review

LD082336 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2245 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS) -- Vitaliy Korionov, author of the International Review, writes in PRAVDA about the conference in Prague some days ago of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee: "The meeting in the Czechoslovak capital has become one of the greatest foreign policy events of the first weeks of the New Year."

The review says: "Can humanity's slide into the abyss of war be halted? The permanent significance of the policy declaration consists in the fact that it gives people a clear reply to this question. However complex the situation on the planet may be, realistic possibilities exist for altering it, for averting the impending threat. It is particularly important that the international situation of the socialist community -- the main buttress of peace on earth -- remains solid and reliable. Its peace-loving policy is supported by the vast majority of humanity, and this means that the present dangerous course of events can and must be halted."

The PRAVDA observer writes: "The Warsaw Treaty countries are countering the imperialist policy of war and aggression with their own alternative -- durable peace."

The author stresses: "The new peace initiative of the countries of socialism -- the proposal to conclude a treaty on mutual non-use of military force and maintaining relations of peace between the states of the Warsaw Treaty and the member-states of the North Atlantic treaty, open to all other states, is of primary significance."

The review concludes: "The countries of the Warsaw Treaty have made a major new contribution to the cause of normalizing the international situation and have taken yet another significanct step to meet the NATO states. Now the West must reply to the constructive initiatives of the countries of socialism."

IZVESTIYA Calls for Western Response

LD072034 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 7 Jan 83

["Now it Is Up to the West To Show Good Will" -- TASS headline; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, January 7 TASS -- "A principle of the most rigorous equality, brought to a mathematical exactitude" -- this is how today's IZVESTIYA describes the substance of the new Soviet proposals to reduce nuclear confrontation in Europe, put forward in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuri Andropov to the festive meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, and in his answers to U.S. political news analyst Kingsbury-Smith.

"Keeping a quantity of Soviet missiles, equal precisely to that of Britain and France -- U.S. allies -- the Soviet plan "reduces the USSR-USA nuclear confrontation in Europe to a real zero," the newspaper point out.

"Besides, it is proposed to reduce to equal levels the number of aircraft carrying medium-range nuclear weapons, intended for operations in Europe.

Thus, neither side will have a missile or plane more than the other."

The good will to achieve agreements was once again demonstrated by the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states -- in Moscow and just recently in Prague. "Similar will, the article says, must in response be demonstrated by Washington and its allies, if they really strive for peace and stability in Europe, and not for a new dangerous round of the arms race."

"The Soviet initiative poses the question of a more clearcut position to be adopted by Paris and London. Neither French nor British representatives sit at the negotiating table in Geneva, but this does not, however, make the French and British missiles non-existent in the overall balance of nuclear weapons in Europe. These missiles cannot be excluded from this balance by proclaiming them 'independent' (as is actually being done in Paris and London)," the article says.

"The new Soviet initiative, the newspaper says, is one of those political actions whose impact is of a long-term nature. One can safely assume that it will exert significant influence on shaping the political climate in Western Europe...."

"The top representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, gathered in Prague, reaffirmed their readiness for dialogue and cooperation with all those who strive to strengthen peace. They tabled yet another important initiative, addressing the NATO member states with a proposal to conclude a treaty on mutual non-use of force and maintenance of relations of peace.

It appears that overseas there has arisen a sense of alarm in connection with the new 'peace offensive' from Moscow and other socialist countries. If Washington feels its position is awkward, we can advise one good and unfailing way out of this situation: namely, to join in the 'peace offensive', displaying the same good will and the same constructive approach," IZVESTIYA concludes.

TV Commentary

LD091950 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Jan 83

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Igor Fesunenko]

[Excerpt] Hello comrades: There is no doubt that one of the most important international events of this, the first week of 1983, was the conference of the Political Cosultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty member-states which took place on 4-5 January in Prague. The press has published a conference communique and the Political Declaration, which will be distributed as an official UN document, and which will be brought to the attention of all states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Of course, we have already become familiar with this material, and for this reason there is no need to recount it in detail, but I should like to recall and comment on the main provisions of the communique and the declaration.

In reply to a question by the Czechoslovak paper RUDE PRAVO, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov said: One could define the main conclusion of our whole comradely exchange of opinions at the conference thus: The further consolidation of our unity, of our economic and defense potential, must be our response to the calculation of aggressive imperialist circles to pressure socialism. Indeed, in the present international situation, which has become extremely acute, the unity and cohesion of the socialist states acquires particularly great significance, and their economic and defense potential becomes the main guarantee of peace and security not only for those countries themselves, but, as Comrade Andropov stressed in reply to RUDE PRAVO, the fate of the world as a whole is directly linked with it.

To what did the world press draw attention in commenting on the documents of the Prague meeting? First, to the consistency and principled nature of the peace-loving policy of the socialist states. The thoughts, ideas and proposals expressed in Prague are the logical development and continuation of the peaceful initiaties formulated earlier. They deepen and supplement them.

Political observers in various countries of the world, including the United States, have also noted the concrete and business-like nature of the proposals of the socialist countries. In place of theoretical dissertations on peace, in place of abstract and amorphous ideas unconfirmed by practise, with which Washington's diplomacy is so flawed, the Prague Political Declaration formulates precisely clear and specific proposals whose implementation could be embarked upon literally in the very near future. I have in mind the proposal to conclude an agreement on the mutual nonuse of military force and support for peaceful relations between states belonging to the opposing blocs -- that is, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.

On the day this became known in Washington, journalists asked President Reagan at a press conference for his attitude toward this idea. I think, Reagan said, it will most certainly be examined if it is indeed an agreement on mutual nonuse of military force that is being proposed. This proposal has only just been advanced, and in my opinion it is something which demands consultations with all our allies in NATO, the U.S. President added.

And so let us wait to see how these consultations will go and how they will end.

But for now I would like to note a further special feature of this peaceful drive by the socialist countries about which the foreign press is writing. That is the all-embracing nature of these proposals. These proposals by the socialist countries embrace practically all the problems, all aspects of stopping the nuclear and conventional arms race, and of disarmament, including a ban on nuclear weapons tests, a halt to the development of new nuclear weapons systems, a ban on chemical, neutron and radiological weapons, the curtailment of stragegic and other types of nuclear weapons, as well as the demilitarization of space and the curtailment of conventional types of weapons. Furthermore, alternative solutions are also proposed on the main problems among these -- that is, several ways, several variations for agreement are proposed from which a choice can be made.

NATO Session Planned

LD100030 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 9 Jan 83

[From the 'International Diary' program presented by Anatoliy Doronin]

[Text] The new peace initiatives of the socialist countries have clearly put NATO circles in a difficult position. They cannot bring themselves to reject the proposals of the socialist states immediately, but at the same time they are clearly not displaying a readiness to study them constructively. It is reported from NATO Headquarters that a second session of the NATO Political Committee is planned for Tuesday at which it is intended to make a more detailed examination of the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. Judging by reports which have come in, U.S. diplomacy intends to make use of today in order to incline its NATO partners toward a negative response to the socialist states' proposals.

Role of Nonaligned Movement

LD072024 Moscow TASS in English 1758 GMT 7 Jan 83

["Important Factor of Improving International Situation" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS -- TASS political observer Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

The Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states highly assessed the role of the Non-Aligned Movement. This document adopted at the meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries that ended in Prague on Wednesday says that the benefit of the improvement of the international situation, the declaration also says that the Non-Aligned Movement makes the growing contribution to the liquidation and prevention of the crisis situations and that practical steps in this direction deserve the recognition and support of all states.

The Non-Aligned Movement that took shape over two decades ago now unites in its ranks some 100 countries with a population of over 1.5 billion.

Following its fundamental principles of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, against wars and aggression, it has a positive effect on international life. The Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community have versatile friendly ties with many developing countries and are striving to ensure that these states should play ever more important role in international affairs to the benefit of the cause of peace and progress. It should be noted that [words indistinct] other countries of the socialist community and non-aligned states hold common or similar positions on many vital problems of the present.

The openly imperial policy of the present U.S. Administration is spearheaded against non-aligned countries.

Proclaiming different areas as "spheres of U.S. interests", the creation of special punitive "Rapid Deployment Force", the construction of new military bases and interference in internal affairs of others -- these are specific manifestations of this Washington policy.

The entire experience of the development of the Non-Aligned Movement indicates that (?the closer) the cohesion of its member-countries, the greater are their successes in solving the tasks before them. The importance of further strengthening of cooperation was emphasized particularly at the conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in Algiers, Colombo, Havana.

The consolidation of unity of the Non-Aligned Movement is regarded as an important task by the majority of the participants in the coming conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries which will be held in Delhi, writes the Indian newspaper STATESMAN. This can be done on the basis of principles, for the sake of which the Non-Aligned Movement has been formed.

PRAVDA PRINTS WARSAW PACT POLITICAL DECLARATION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 January 1983, Second Edition, publishes the Political Declaration adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states meeting in Prague on 4-5 January. The declaration as printed in PRAVDA has been compared with the version dissiminated by TASS in English at 1025 GMT on 6 January and published in the 6 January Soviet Union Daily Report, beginning on page BB 3, and the following variations are noted:

PRAVDA omits the introductory first paragraph.

Page BB 5, penultimate paragraph, line two, PRAVDA reads...strategic equilibrium at ever lower... ("equilibrium" instead of "parity")

Page BB 9, frist paragraph, first line...believe it absolutely necessary for the talks ("necessary" instead of "important")

Same page, paragraph six, line three...the basis of mutual example. Verification of the... ("mutual example" [vzaimnyy primer] instead of "reciprocity")

Same page and paragraph, last line, PRAVDA reads...possible to further, larger reductions....(substituting "larger" for "large")

Page BB 13, third paragraph, line eight...of countering the process of detente.... ("process" instead of "policy")

Same page, sixth paragraph, second line, PRAVDA reads..equal cooperation and international solidarity... (substituting "international" for "internationalist.")

9 JANUARY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

LD091556 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0945 GMT 9 Jan 83

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Aleksander Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, journalist on international affairs; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, all-union radio foreign political affairs commentator]

Warsaw Pact Meeting

[Text] [Levin] Good day, dear comrade listeners! This week there was a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers described the Prague Political Consultative Committee meeting as an event of major international significance. This arises from the work of the meeting, primarily the Political Declaration adopted at the meeting: a declaration that proposes a realistic alternative to sliding into a nuclear catastrophe. This document contains a realistic analysis of the complicated international situation and provides an answer to the main problems of the modern world. The Warsaw Pact member-states declare that, as a whole, the situation is becoming increasingly complex, international tension is growing, the military threat is intensifying, first and foremost the nuclear threat. This is a fact that you can't get away from, as they say.

At the same time, and I would like to pay particular attention to this aspect, in his reply to a question put by the Czech paper RUDE PRAVO about how the results of the Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are to be interpreted, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov noted that the socialist community's international position remains firm and reliable. On what does this depend? First, on the socialist states acting in a unified manner. They express a clear striving towards deepening mutual understanding and coordination in activity in foreign political affairs. These factors came out very clearly in the work of the Prague meeting.

[Bovin] The firmness of the socialist community's international stance is, of course, defined by its unity. This is indeed so, but one of the most important aspects here is the fact that, despite whatever they have been doing up to now, the Americans have not succeeded and will not succeed in breaking the military-strategic parity that has been established. In my view, this extremely important fact and factor of world politics in this situation directly defines the firmness of our country's position -- defines the fact that we are able, so to speak, to conduct decisive and positive foreign policy.

[Kobysh] This recognition of a force that is capable of resisting forces pushing mankind toward the threat of war -- in the direction of war, so to speak -- this runs through the document we are discussing today. When we say, for instance, that international tension is increasing and the threat of war is growing stronger, what really lies behind this is the Americans' attempt to break up the very foundation of detente, this military-strategic parity. U.S. policy is now directed against this. Of course, they verbally, so to speak, deny this and keep talking about the fact that we have, so they say, outstripped them in this respect and overtaken them, or that we will be able to outstrip them. This is how they justify themselves.

In fact, however, all the Reagan administration's actions are shot through with this very aspiration to recapture their former military superiority. Since they cannot do this, their policy takes on this activity -- even a sort of hysteria, I would say. They get nervous about this. The statements in the document that the forces of peace are becoming stronger than the forces of war and the forces of reaction, which are objectively conducting a policy directed toward military conflicts, is an extremely important thesis.

[Bovin] When we speak of the firmness of our positions, these are determined both by our solidarity, as we have already said, and by this self-same parity. They are also determined by the fact that a large number of people are on our side in the United States itself, in the Western world as well and throughout the world.

[Levin] All over the world, as the declaration points out clearly.

[Bovin] The antiwar movement also plays a great role now. It has made itself more prominent in the United States (?than it has since) the anti-Vietnam demonstrations. You know, perhaps even more so now.

[Levin] Yes.

obysh] Yes, I remember those times. Even then, perhaps, it was not as large and well-organized as now.

[Bovin] This is a very interesting indiction, for Reagan has managed to draw their fire against himself. All these militant statements of his, brandishing of big and small sticks, so to speak, in the final analysis turned even America, but Western Europe to start with, and then America, against him. He simply agitated them.

[Kobysh] The Americans, like all people on earth, now understand that the nuclear threat is a real thing and they fear nuclear war. Many of them go further. They already understand that the course of the Reagan administration and NATO may lead God knows where. This is also extremely important.

[Bovin] The Political Declaration is exactly in keeping with that same feeling which is widespread throughout the world to a great extent. The importance of the declaration lies precisely in the fact that it formulates logically and clearly all those ideas, all those certain approaches to topical international problems which are generally spoken about in the world, which people want.

[Levin] The socialist countries put their clear and precise policy of renouncing the very possibility of conducting a nuclear war against the recklessness and adventurism of the U.S. foreign policy actions and the statements about a limited nuclear war, a long, drawn-out nuclear war and so forth.

As is well known, the Soviet Union has unilaterally taken upon itself the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Now the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-states clearly and precisely states that the states represented at the conference strongly emphasize that it is madness to calculate on victory after having unleashed a nuclear war. If a nuclear war were to occur, there could be no victor in it. It inevitably would lead to the destruction of entire peoples, to colossal destruction and catastrophic consequences for civilization and for life on earth itself.

This same understanding of the complete absurdity of nuclear war is making itself felt in the United States itself. In THE NEW YORK TIMES recently, an article was published by Averell Harriman, a prominent U.S. political figure who was U.S. ambassador in the Soviet Union during the war. He writes bluntly that any conflict in which nuclear weapons are used will be nothing other than the action of countries which have gone out of their minds. Those who consider such a conflict to be anything less merely arouse a feeling of scorn in me, for they are not in their right minds, and a feeling of pity, for they do not demonstrate the common trails of humanity that link us on our frail planet. The socialist countries clearly set out their position. Harriman's description clearly refers to the Washington administration.

Responses to Political Declaration

[Kobysh] In this connection it is of course extremely interesting for us, if you permit to analyze the responses to this document, which is of exceptional international import. It would seem to me to be logical to divide these responses into several groups. Naturally, we Soviets and our friends in the fraternal socialist countries read what concerns us most of all and what corresponds to our aspirations, what lies in the heart of each one of us in this document and in Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's replies to questions from RUDE PRAVO. The same applies to the working people and peoples of the socialist states.

One could speak in particular about the Chinese reaction. We have so far received only the first responses, but the official reaction is also interesting. This is perhaps the first time in recent years that the Chinese mass media have given such full and detailed analysis. For the document...

[Bovin -- speaking over Kobysh] Well, let's say not in all that much detail, but a good deal more than they usually do.

[Kobysh, continuing] About the Political Declaration and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's reply.

Another set of responses, so to speak, is that from the Western world, but there are by no means all of the same tenor. I should divide this into three subgroups, so to speak: responses from Western Europe; responses from NATO; the NATO headquarters; and responses from the White House.

[Bovin] Here, however, you are taking the official level. There is also the public level.

[Kobysh] Yes, that's true.

[Bovin] That's quite a different thing.

[Kobysh] Yes, that is another (?matter). That also deserves special examination.

[Levin] The public very warmly supports the proposals put forward by the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-states. One could particularly refer to the opinion of the French newspaper L'HUMANITE, the newspaper of the French Communist Party, which stresses the socialist states' proposal for the signing of an agreement on nonuse of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations between the members of the two military-political groupings, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This is a proposal of extreme importance: The signing of such an agreement would undoubtedly facilitate improvement in the world situation and deepen the process of relaxation of tension. This agreement, L'HUMANITE underlines, will enable specific measures to be taken to avert the threat of war hanging over mankind and halt the arms race.

[Kobysh] Well, I do not often quote newspapers on the whole, but it seems to me that in the present case this is not without interest, for the newspaper reactions reflect reactions in public opinion -- in Western public opinion. This is what the Rome newspaper LA REPUBBLICA writes in connection with Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's replies and the political declaration. These documents give the world a signal on the readiness for dialogue. The Prague declaration, LA REPUBBLICA comments, is politically and chronologically linked with the USSR's latest proposals on reducing nuclear arsenals and is one of the first steps by the Soviet leadership. This, therefore, is something more -- and, I stress, this is what the Rome newspaper LA REPUBBLICA says -- something more than a verbal declaration of pacifism: It is evidence of a genuine aspiration for peace. One can be sure, the Rome newspaper says, that one cannot but attentively and responsibly evaluate this initiative.

One more extremely interesting quotation, if you permit: This is from the West German FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. In connection with the proposals put forward in the political declaration and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's replies and the ideas he expounded here, the newspaper writes: These proposals take away the breath not only of the government in Washington but also of the cabinets of other Western states. For an initial routine reaction, this contains nothing new. The admission followed: All this will be thoroughly studied.

Andropov Proposals

[Levin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, in this connection, since you mentioned FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, I should like to point out what seems to me to be an interesting aspect: Just at this time, after the work of the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU has published the full text of the report of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Andropov, at the solemn session of the Kremlin dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The paper had published information about the report, and to some extent given an account of the new Soviet peace initiatives put forward by Comrade Andropov on 21 December, but now the paper has seen fit to give the whole document in its entirety -- not just extracts. This underlines both the enormous significance of the new Soviet initiatives and the way FRANKFURTHER RUNDSCHAU understands the consistency of Soviet foreign policy.

[Bovin] Here, of course, there are two aspects that need to be distinguished: The political aspect and the propaganda aspect. It must be said that this is now realised very clearly in the West because there is not only a purely political East-West confrontation going on but also a battle for the hearts and minds of an enormous number of people, a propaganda battle, as it is called. They understand this full well. This largely determines the nature of the reaction by the government, official statements by foreign ministers and other figures. It determines them and they are very well aware that they are losing this battle for people's minds, that they have nothing with which to counter the logic and clarity of exposition that is to be found in the declaration. Whereas before when any sort of proposal was put forward, they would very often simply say no immediately; no, that is no good; no, this contains nothing new -- now even the Americans, who were most often the ones who said no...

[Kobysh -- interrupting] At the official level.

[Bovin] Yes, precisely at the official level. They have now said they will study them carefully, work on them and (?take the same view as) Western Europe. In other words, they want to present themselves in the eyes of their own public opinion as serious politicians who are treating this serious document seriously. By doing so they hope to score a few propaganda points. Though, quite honestly, behind this talk of serious study -- in my view, and I should very much like to be mistaken, but in my view -- one does sometimes glimpse their old position of wanting to shove all this aside somehow or other.

[Kobysh] Yes.

[Bovin] To put it crudely...

[Kobysh -- interrupting] In this connection, I would like to reinforce your suspicions, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, by quoting from another paper, the French paper LE MONDE: The Reagan administration has reacted cautiously to this proposal. Such a position on the part of the White House does not mean that this initiative has been enthusiastically welcomed in Washington, yet the U.S. administration evidently has decided to change its tactics.

Washington now does not reject new proposals by the Soviet Union but tries to gain time in order to exert the appropriate influence on public opinion. There is every indication that the Reagan administration has now become convinced that the public has a considerable influence on East-West relations. Here we have a confirmation of that.

[Bovin] Yes. It's interesting how their minds work. We have made a declaration that we will not join in that. You have more and stronger conventional forces so declare that you will not use those first. All right: We said we are in favor of not being the first to use either nuclear weapons or conventional ones. To that they said nothing. They said nothing because we have done what they wanted and the next step is up to them. What step? To openly say no to that proposal? They cannot because that would refute their own position. As for saying yes to the proposition, they do not seem to want to do that either.

[Kobysh] It'll be interesting to see how official propaganda reacts. [words indistinct]

[Bovin] It can be predicted. What are the French saying on the official level? We say: Let the Warsaw Pact and NATO conclude a treaty on the nonuse of force. (?We propose this.) The French say, officially: What's the point? All the obligations are there in the UN Charter. All those countries have signed the Charter, joined in it, so why do we need another agreement when all that is already in existence? Well, if you take that line,

[Kobysh, speaking simultaneously with Bovin] (?There is no need to sign anything as long as negotiations are going on, as they are today.)

[Bovin, speaking simultaneously with Kobysh] (?That the UN Charter covers everything, you could say that about whatever you...[Kobysh stops speaking]

[Bovin] -- Well, in general. This is the sort of logic that, far from getting to the heart of the matter, leads one astray.

[Levin] In this connection I would like to draw attention to the reaction of the West German public, press and government -- certain government circles. The point is that, according to NATO plans, the main burden of this new stage in the deployment of American medium-range nuclear weapons will be borne by the Federal Republic. The West Germans are very worried about this. Their attitude is one of considerable alarm. They see in the Soviet proposals a real way of solving the problem. In West Germany great attention has been paid by public circles and broad political circles to the initiatives that were expressed by Comrade Andropov in his report at the solemn session on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union, since the Soviet proposals envisage reducing medium-range nuclear weapons by more than 2/3 of those that are in Europe.

We clearly state that the Soviet Union is willing to reduce its medium-range missiles -- with a simultaneous equalizing of bombers carrying nuclear weapons of that range -- to the number possessed by Britain and France. Reports being published in the West say Britain and France now have 162 missiles. We say precisely and clearly that we do not intend to have a single missile more than those sides have. We are willing to make such an agreement: Now it's up to the West.

Well, here they launch into all sorts of talk to the effect that the British aren't all that keen on this. The French say they are not integrated into the NATO military system at all, though they themselves admit that their missiles are aimed towards the East, not the West.

[Bovin] (?A number of years) ago in Paris, I had a very interesting conversation on this theme, (?a positive one).

I was saying the same -- I (?was including) these missiles -- and (?they were most indignant), saying: Ah, but these are our own independent nuclear forces. I say: very well, gentlemen. Dependent or independent, what difference does it make to me whose missile and whose bomb falls on me, American or French? It makes absolutely no difference from the point of view of the Soviet Union's strategic interests and defense.

[Kobysh] The more so as it's known that those missiles are not aimed at Washington.

[Bovin] Yes, therefore, whatever title they give to their special forces, they must all the same necessarily be counted. Otherwise, we will not obtain an equalization reflecting the real state of affairs -- that is, an equalization in Europe.

[Levin] Now, as far as West Germany is concerned I should like in this connection to note first of all the position of the German Communist Party and the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] which have received these proposals with great interest. In government circles, a sort of maneuvering is beginning to take place.

Foreign Minister Genscher recently made a statement which some political observers in the West have seen as a considerable, almost a radical departure from unconditional support of Washington's position at the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear armaments.

But Genscher himself, at the same press conference where he had already said well, what about it, there is not going to be any zero option so let us look for something else, let it be understood pretty transparently that all the same, the FRG and particularly he himself, Genscher, stay virtually with the U.S. positions. Undoubtedly with every justification, the British DAILY TELEGRAPH concluded that Genscher, having assessed the scale of the antiwar movement in his own country, has decided to increase the popularity of his party among the voters by means of similar statements.

The FRG is on the eve of elections. A date has even been announced for them now: 6 March. The FDP [Free Democratic Party], judging from the results of an opinion poll held recently, do not have a chance of getting into the Bundestag. The most optimistic forecasts give them 3 percent of the vote. In these circumstances, the leadership of the FDP is clearly trying to take attitudes into account. The curious thing is that this shows once again that no one can permit themselves to ignore the peace movement and the public.

[Kobysh] I should now like to bring the stocktaking, if you like, of reactions to a logical end. I was speaking of the particular reaction from NATO headquarters. There, the council of permanent representatives held an urgent session in order to work out some sort of position, an initial position. But such first reactions as there are indicate that this reaction is connected with uneasiness, going as far as something of a panic. They have set a date for a new conference to work out a more carefully considered common position in regard to our proposal. But the first thesis which has already come out of NATO headquarters -- and this can undoubtedly be assessed as the reaction of official Washington, it was all agreed -- is that our proposals are intended to drive a wedge, cause a split, between the West European states and the United States.

[Bovin] Yes, well, this is not exactly a new theme but speaking seriously here, well, it is not a matter of a split. We are far from closing our eyes to the real political social and other relationships which exist between the United States and Western Europe. We are not so naive as to think that it would be possible, say, to destroy the social class solidarity which binds NATO together. This will undoubtedly remain.

What we are against is that this solidarity should have an anti-Soviet basis, that it is directed against us. Here we are forced to take certain diplomatic steps and to conduct our policy with the aim that this alliance, transatlantic or whatever you like to call it, not be aimed against us. We are ready to cooperate both with the West and with the United States but on the basis of detente, on the basis of a policy leading to a relaxation of international tension.

[Kobysh] It is, of course, clear that these proposals have put certain people in a very uncomfortable position and that they have to react. It is difficult for them to react constructively, inasmuch as they are clearly not ready, but what is alarming is that, still without having studied this document either, it should be the same old story as it was with the proposal made on 21 December in Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's report. They began at once to formulate reservations which heralded a negative reaction on their part. This is very worrying because if they read through this document attentively, its sense -- and it has, by the way, been so assessed by those who have read it in the West -- is that it is an alternative to nuclear war. But again they begin politicking over it. Again they are trying to find some sort of loophole to evade giving an answer to the direct question: Are we going to do something together in order to stop mankind's slide toward nuclear war? Or is the arms race, including the nuclear one, to continue?

[Levin] The socialist countries new propose not only to conclude a treaty mutually renouncing the use of military force and on maintaining relations of peace between the member-states of the two military-political groups -- the Warsaw Pact and NATO -- they also make quite specific and realistic proposals.

[Bovin] I should like to say this in summing up your line of thought regardless of the nature of the reaction to our political declaration, regardless of the fact that some are for, some are against and some are saying they will study it, one thing is now obvious. What was said at Prague has produced a very great impression on the world public. Even now, this declaration is an important political factor which is working, working realistically, working for the benefit of detente and for reducing international tension. Certainly after all this, later on, there will undoubledly follow some sort of specific chain of political actions on our part, but already, I should like to stress, this document is exerting a positive influence on world politics.

Of course, there is no use imagining that Reagan is going to have a sudden acute change of heart. All this is going to be very difficult, very complex. It is not going to happen in a hurry but I am sure that the line which we have selected and which is again set out in this declaration has no sensible alternative. Sooner or later, our political opponents will be forced to recognize this fact and will be forced to return to detente. That is what I think.

[Kobysh] Yes, to live or not to live is the question. There is no other choice.

[Levin] In conclusion, I should like to draw attention to another conclusion which has been drawn by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers. On the work of the Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Andropov at the Prague conference of Warsaw Pact member-states the CPSU Central Committee Politburo USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers consider it necessary to stress that the matter of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries has always held and will continue to hold a special priority place in the international policy of the party and the Soviet state. This is the foundation of our policy. This is the foundation of our confidence in the stability of our international positions and this gives us a guarantee for looking optimistically to the future.

On that, our program comes to an end. Thank you for your attention, esteemed comrades. All the best.

'INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: QUESTIONS & ANSWERS'

LD071734 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 7 Jan 83

["International Situation -- Questions and Answers" program presented by Boris Andriyanov, foreign political commentator of all-union radio; with Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, TASS political observer; Doctor of Economics Igor Petrovich Belyayev, international affairs journalist; Eduard Vasiliyevich Kovalev, international affairs journalist; and Konstantin Ivanovich Semenov, candidate of history]

Warsaw Pact Conference

[Text] [Andriyanov] Mankind has entered the New Year of 1983. The world of socialism marked its beginning with new important Soviet peace initiatives put forward by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the solemn session to mark the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. They became further developed at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, held 4-5 January in Prague, which discussed topical problems of the struggle to avert the danger of a nuclear war, the maintenance and strengthening of the process of relaxation of international tension, the strengthening of security and the development of cooperation in Europe.

What was the main thing in the work of this supreme forum of the fraternal countries? I would like Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, TASS political observer and a participant in our broadcast, to answer this question. Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, if you please.

[Shishkin] The declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, which has just been published, is the main political document of the Prague conference. This most important document sets out a new, major peace proposal, that is to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and to maintain relations of peace between Warsaw Treaty member-states and North Atlantic Treaty member-states, which would be open to all other states.

[Andriyanov] Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, the question arises: Why has this initiative become a central one in the work of the Prague conference? Why did its participants adopt a decision to immediately circulate the Political Declaration as an official document of the United Nations Organization and to bring it to the notice of member-states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe? What brought about the decision to especially draw the attention of all these countries to this initiative?

[Shishkin] Boris Vasiliyevich, in my opinion the answer to all these questions is obvious. In summing up the results of the outgoing year of 1982, we cannot fail to remark that it left us with a serious legacy in the international arena. The aggressive circles of imperialism have not given up their attempts to undermine the policy of detente and to push states and peoples on to a path of enmity and military confrontation the more bellicose groupings in the West, whose class hatred is gaining the upper hand over a sense of reality and at times over commonsense, have become acutely more active. Just as during the cold war years, the American magazine PROGRESSIVE notes for example, Washington has embarked upon a course of steady escalation, hoping to find some kind of superweapon and to gain such complete superiority that the Russians would have to surrender and recognize the world domination of the United States and to do away with its anticapitalist system. The American hawks are urging the Reagan administration on to a still more adventurist and aggressive path.

Writing in the weighty and influential magazine FOREIGN AFFAIRS Winter 1982/83 issue, Professor (Yatey) of Columbia University writes bluntly that the Pentagon, within the framework of the Washington administration, favors pursuing a more decisive policy with regard to the socialist countries. In the Pentagon, the journal writes, they are demanding that the United States take up a policy which would be directed toward destabilizing and, in the final analysis, defeating all the communist regimes in East Europe. The short-sightedness, utter flimsiness and political doom of such calculations is obvious. The same (Yatey) writes in this connection: It is wishful thinking to suppose that the Soviet system can be defeated. After all, in its time a more cohesive and united West, headed by a stronger and more purposeful United States, has not in 30 years been able to turn Soviet power out of Europe. How, then, the magazine asks, could the United States achieve this objective now when they are in a position of military parity with the Soviet Union and when differences are apparent in the Western alliance?

[Andriyanov] Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, what is the socialist countries' reply to the fantastic plans to undermine socialism, which are now being nurtured in Washington?

[Shishkin] Well, the answer is obvious of course. The resolution and cohesion demonstrated by participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague leave no doubt that the socialist countries are strong enough to withstand imperialism's military threat. In summing up the results of the Prague conference's work Comrade Andropov, replying to a question by RUDE PRAVO, said: The main conclusion may be determined as follows: Our reply to the calculations of aggressive imperialist circles to constrict socialism must be the further consolidation of our unity, and our economic and defense potential. Speaking at the solemn session to mark the 60th anniversary of the USSR, Comrade Andropov also underscored that the program to build up armaments further will not induce the Soviet Union to make unilateral concessions. We will be compelled to meet the challenge of the American side, he said, with the development of corresponding weapons systems of our own.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of course, in no way desire such a development of events. They are doing everything to avoid this. Henceforth, in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, which was adopted in Prague, the socialist states, basing themselves on an analysis of the international situation, put forward an alternative to nuclear catastrophe and called for broad international cooperation in the name of preserving civilization and life on earth. They emphasized with all force that any calculations to unleash a nuclear war and to gain a victory in it are foolhardy, and they also stated firmly that there is no more important task for peoples now than to preserve peace and to end the arms race. It is the duty of all governments and all statesmen who determine their countries' policies to solve it.

The solution to this task depends to a very great degree on whether they can succeed in eliminating mistrust and reducing the level of confrontation between the biggest military-political alliances, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, which possess immense might, especially in the field of nuclear weapons. An armed clash between them would have direct consequences for all people. The Warsaw Treaty member-states have long advocated disbanding both alliances, and as a first step, liquidating their military organizations. This proposal remains in force, and the socialist countries emphasize their readiness to enter into talks with the NATO member-states to achieve an appropriate agreement, starting with the question of mutual reduction in military activity.

However, the present acute situation does not permit waiting around. Urgent effective measures are required especially now in order to reduce mistrust between members of the Warsaw Treaty and members of NATO. It was precisely by proceeding from this consideration that participants in the Prague conference addressed members of the North Atlantic treaty with a proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and to maintain relations of peace.

The task of counterposing the dangerous development of events in the international arena with the determination of peoples and all progressive peace-loving forces to do away with the policy of force and confrontation, and to ensure the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security is particularly topical now.

[Andriyanov] Thank you very much, Gennadiy Arkadiyevich.

Situation in Lebanon

Many of our listeners ask questions about the situation in Lebanon. We have received such letters from Volkov of Dnepropetrovsk, Leningrader Aleksandr Chupres, Mikhail Sergeyevich Maskov from the settlement of Smelaya, Sumi Oblast and others. I would like to note that the majority of questions concentrate on the talks between Lebanon and Israel. In our studio today is Doctor of Economics Igor Petrovich Belyayev, international affairs journalist. Over to you, Igor Petrovich.

[Belyayev] I would like to single out at least three important circumstances which are linked with preparations for the talks and with the course of the talks. The first is that Lebanon, from the very start and to this very day, has insisted and still insists that the main object of discussion during these talks is the question of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the whole territory of Lebanon. For the Lebanese Government, for the republic President Amin al-Jumayyil, for the political circles of that country, and finally for the broad popular masses this is in essence, if you will, a question concerning their life. How will it be restored after the war of the summer of 1982 -- a war which is virtually continuing to this very day -- and how will the Republic of Lebanon in the future maintain its relations with its Arab neighbors and with Israel?

But the talks had hardly begun in the small village of Khalda, near Beirut, when it immediately became clear that the Lebanese side and Israel had different approaches to the essence of the talks. Whereas the Lebanese representatives consider it necessary first of all to discuss the question of the withdrawal of Israeli troops and certain technical problems connected with this withdrawal -- thus in fact it is a matter of settling the question of ultimate importance for the Lebanese -- Israel, on the contrary, considers this of no importance and insists on the so-called normalization of relations with Israel.

[Andriyanov] Here is a question for you, Igor Petrovich: What meaning does Tel Aviv give to the words normalization of relations between Israel and Lebanon?

[Belyayev] When I was in Beirut recently there were not just rumors in the air but precisely formulated future Israeli demands so to speak, on Lebanon. What are Sharon and Begin seeking today? Well, first of all, they say they want the borders between the two countries to be open and for trade to develop between them. In practice, it is a quesion of Israeli economic expansion in Lebanon and thus, as the Lebanese and other Arabs consider, this is a matter of burying the Arab countries' former position of not developing any economic relations with Israel at all until Israel leaves occupied Arab territory and agrees to a just peace. I think the Arabs' position here is correct and it is dictated by their national interests. However, Israel wants to use the Lebanese move to destroy this position.

The second thing that the Israelis are insisting on is that an Israeli diplomatic representation should be opened in Beirut. Well, not an embassy, not a bureau so to speak, not an ambassador or an emissary but some sort of representation with the rights of an embassy. This is already, if you will, an unprecedented statement of the question. The country is still occupied by Israeli troops.

Moreover, the Israeli Army is increasing its might in the Al-Biqa' valley and at the same time, in essence, the Israelis are demanding at the point of their guns and under the tracks of their tanks that Lebanon should make such a concession as opening an Israeli diplomatic representation in Beirut.

At the same time I would say rather alarming military demands have been put forward. Israel wants the installation of an Israeli radar on the summit of Mount Buraq, allegedly to observe everything that happens on the borders both of Israel and Lebanon and of other Arab countries, so to say, with Israel.

[Andriyanov] Igor Petrovich, I would like to note also that if such a radar is installed then the Israelis would get the opportunity to overlook almost the whole of the Sinai Peninsula, that is to keep an eye on Egypt and on the corresponding sector of the Mediterranean Sea.

[Belyayev] Israeli insistence on the installation of a radar on Mount Buraq is only a small part; they insist on maintaining there a special military unit to service this radar and on having a special road to this radar, which would be protected by Israeli troops and which, in practice, would be serviced only by the Israeli Army. Thus, it is a question of a demand which cannot be called anything other than an interventionist demand.

There is another similar demand. The Israelis insist -- at least this is asserted by those who are in touch with the course of the talks -- that in the south of Lebanon there should be set aside, some say a 45 kilometer, some say 45 mile, so-called neutral zone. This means in practice that Israel insists on the virtual joining to Israel of a considerable area of Lebanese territory because the Israeli military would be in charge in this enclave or this so-called neutral zone. And in practice one can say that Israel, which is occupying Lebanon today, does not wish to give back a considerable part of its territory in the future.

Moreover, there is very curious political speculation around the talks. Here is what it all amounts to: Israel, in putting forward all the demands which I have mentioned, understands that Lebanon will not agree to adopting them -- at least in the form they are set out today. And I think Lebanon will be very firm on this.

And now, the Israeli press and some West European and U.S. papers are carrying commentaries expressing the thought: What a good country Israel is; it not only conducts, so to say, some sort of defensive wars -- from our point of view this is the most real aggression, not to mention the whole chain of ferocity which last year was, I would say, a shock for the whole world, and even now when the way in which the fate of Israeli-Lebanese relations will turn out is unknown -- the government of Begin and Sharon is talking about peace. Consequently, everything is justified; the incursion into Lebanon, the war against the Palestinians, the slaughter of the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and all the sorts of, if you like, subversive activity aimed at whipping up interreligious differences, for example in the areas of Sawfar and Aliyah where Christians are being set against Druzes, and in other regions of the country.

Thus, there have already been set out in essence the totally opposite positions and totally opposite approaches to the chief problem that is causing concern to the whole world; will Israeli troops be withdrawn or not from the territory of Lebanon which was seized by Israel last year? And if one is to talk of the essence of the Israeli position: that in putting forward such an extensive program of military-political demands on Lebanon, Begin and Sharon want to show in advance in this way their uncompromising attitude and, that means, their unwillingness to withdraw Israeli troops from Lebanon.

So far no agenda for the talks has been worked out. The next meeting is to take place in northern Israel in the small village of Qiryat Shmona.

I shall not try to forecast how this routine round of the Israeli-Lebanese talks will proceed but it is very clear to me that the Israelis are trying to use these talks for their own selfish aims against the Arab countries. I am not yet saying that they wish to use them against Lebanon, against the cause of peace in the Near East, although there has already been more than enough demagogy about these talks and I have already spoken about what one can sometimes read today in West European and U.S. newspapers. And today, unfortunately, one has to say that the New Year of 1983 has begun but I cannot yet see any prospects for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

[Andriyanov] Many thanks for that interesting account, Igor Petrovich.

WEST'S PROPHECIES OF USSR 'ECONOMIC DOOM' REFUTED

LD072306 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 7 Jan 83

[From the "Vantage Point" program, commentary by Boris Belitskiy]

[Excerpts] No doubt you are well familiar with the dire prophecies of imminent Soviet economic doom that Fleet Street has been peddling for some time now. The authorship of these apocalyptic predictions has never been in question. They have long been traced to the numerous analysts on the staff of the American CIA, whose jobs evidently hinge on their ability to produce these ominous projections, as they choose to call them.

There are other motives too behind all this crystal-gazing. By exaggerating Soviet economic problems out of all proportion it was hoped to provide some kind of a theoretical rationale for the absurd policy of trying to win some sort of political concessions from the Soviet Union by economic sanctions and other forms of economic pressure. The failure of the American Administration's attempt to disrupt the Siberian gas pipeline project in this way highlighted the absolute futility of trying to pressure a vast country whose natural resources are second to none.

As for Fleet Street's enthusiasm in echoing all these fairytales about the state of the Soviet economy, no doubt an additional reason for doing so was the hope that this might take your mind off economic problems much nearer home. How utterly unfounded all this soothsaying was has just been brought into sharp focus by an authoritative report released in the United States a few days ago. The chairman of the congressional committee that made the report public, Congressman Henry Reuss, said -- and I quote -- this important study helps put into perspective for Americans the fact that the Soviet Union, far from being on the verge of collapse, has experienced major growth, which is, of course, exactly what Soviet economic authorities and we commentators have been saying all along, and the New Year we have just entered is to see further growth in every sector of the country's economy.

The same news agency dispatches that reported the latest American analysis as showing that the Soviet economy is performing far better than previously believed contained roundups of economy news from the Western capitals as they entered the New Year. Reports from the United States quoted President Reagan's off-the-cuff remark that the economy is in a hell of a mess. Reports from Western Europe were equally inauspicious. Western Europe, said the French news agency, saw the New Year in in a spirit of economic and political gloom, if not doom, with little hope that the recession can be overcome in the next 12 months. And in Britain, said the report, there are more than 3 million people without jobs and the industrial base continues to diminish. In short, the term economic stagnation is a mild one when applied to the countries whose media have sought so persistently to apply it to the Soviet Union.

SPOKESMAN 'CORRECTS' REAGAN REMARKS ON BLOC OFFER

LD071452 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 7 Jan 83

["Why Are They in Washington Correcting the President?" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS -- TASS news analyst Igor Orlov writes:

The fresh initiatives put forward by the Warsaw Treaty member-states at the summit meeting in Prague have aroused most lively comments all over the world, which is seen from pronouncements by high-ranking political figures, representatives of the public and press. Not surprisingly, a source of the greatest interest has been the proposal to conclude a treaty on mutual non-use of force and maintaining relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty member-states and the NATO member-countries, as people of various political convictions increasingly clearly realize that urgent effective measures are necessary in the present-day tense international situation in order to lessen already now distrust between the states of the two major political alliances and their fear of possible aggression. It must be recalled that in the opinion of its initiators, the core of the treaty could be the mutual commitment of the member-states of both alliances not to use against one another either nuclear or conventional weapons, and, consequently, not to be the first to use military force against one another in general.

"It is absolutely clear," the West German WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSCHAU points out, "that such a treaty can improve the political atmosphere in a considerable measure. A signature under such a treaty should presuppose fair intentions in the field of talks on questions of reduction of arms."

Under these conditions the White House did not dare to reject at a go such a clear-cut and important initiative. "This is something," the President said, "I think, certainly to be considered, if that is what," they are "proposing is a non-aggression pact." "I think this is something that has just happened," the U.S. President added, "and this is something that would require consultations with our allies in NATO." The President said that he is in principle in favour of holding a Soviet-American summit meeting, whose success, as the USSR and the USA feel, requires good preparations.

It is highly indicative, however, with what amazing speed the State Department and the White House deemed it necessary to "correct" the President's statement. Thus, for example, a spokesman for the White House, as the REUTERS agency said, was in a hurry to return to the old canons and attach to the possible American-Soviet summit meeting certain "strings", in particular, a "change in the Soviet Union's conduct."

John Hughes, a spokesman for the State Department, told a press conference, that at first sight the proposal by the Warsaw Treaty member states did not seem to be new, but, he added, as the President said, we will examine it... One cannot help noting such an important fact: While the day before the President was speaking of an intention to hold consultations with all the NATO allies of the USA, the spokesman for the State Department is already trying without any consultations to force his stand on others, and, judging by the reports reaching here, some Western leaders are listening to him. It must be noted in that connection that Washington has already long not consulted its allies on many important international issues. After the President's statement one could be led to believe that they in Washington are trying to depart from their recent practices. But, to all appearances, this has not happened.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague urged the member-states of the North Atlantic alliance to show every attention to their fresh initiative and answer it constructively. Judging by the latest manoeuvres made in Washington, one cannot help drawing the conclusion that certain circles in the American capital quite frankly wish to prevent that.

Report on Reagan Radio Address

LD091244 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] In the United States, President Reagan has devoted his latest radio address to the nation and Congress to his country's relations with the USSR. Among other things he dwelt on the peace initiatives advanced by the USSR at the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Treaty organization. Speaking about the proposals on disarmament the U.S. President noted that they carry encouraging signs. Mr Reagan expressed readiness to discuss with the Soviet Union practical steps towards this end which, according to him, could bring about an improvement in East-West relations.

Yet the American President restated that the White House will continue to lay emphasis on military might. Proceeding from this, Reagan again called for a further buildup of the U.S. military potential and especially its nuclear potential.

DOLE IN INTERVIEW SAYS ARMS RACE 'POINTLESS'

LD080904 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0535 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS) -- In the natural order of things there occurs a clash of ideas, but not of armies. Disputes should be settled by words, not by arms. There is no alternative to negotiations, declared U.S. Republican Senator Dole in an interview with the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

If the American-Soviet talks -- I refer to the Geneva talks -- end in failure, this will cost our countries an even more expensive spiral in the pointless arms race.

Our energy, the senator continued, should be directed not to the goals of destruction, but to those of creation. If we desire a peaceful life for our children, we must build a system of mutual security founded on peace and not a system of individual security based on readiness to fight.

Dealing with Soviet-American trade relations, Robert Dole stressed that trade and the progress of our political relations are interrelated. However, in order to trade successfully and effectively, we must precisely define the conditions for carrying out trade. These should guarantee it against periods of stagnation caused earlier by the policy of "embargoes." We must conclude several fundamental, balanced, long-term trade agreements where everything, down to the smallest details, would be discussed.

In conclusion the senator said: It is essential to live in peace. Such is the objective requirements of the contemporary epoch. We must learn to live together.

RECONNAISSANCE PLANE 'OPENLY PREPARING' FOR WAR

LD092310 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1309 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] Washington, 9 Jan (TASS) -- In building up the military potential and perfecting the technical capabilities of the U.S. Air Force the administration of R. Reagan is paying particular attention to the creation of the latest aircraft for carrying out airborne reconnaissance. One of them -- the TR-1 spy aircraft -- has been reported by THE WASHINGTON POST.

As the newspaper notes, in his annual secret report to Congress, U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger wrote that with the appearance of this aircraft a "new era has started in tactical reconnaissance." The TR-1 which is a modernized version of the ill-famed U-2 spy aircraft, will be able to carry out "round-the-clock surveillance of a region of military activity in any weather conditions," as C. Weinberger stressed in his report. Its radius of operation is about 5,000 km and its flight altitude more than 20,000 meters. Europe is one of the likeliest regions for its use "in a battle situation," the newspaper points out. Thus the creation of the TR-1 is yet further evidence of the fact that Washington is openly preparing for warfare on the continent of Europe.

BOGDANOV COMMENTARY REJECTS U.S. ARMS POLICY

LD080230 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Commentary by Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the United States of America and Canada Institute, on the state of Soviet-American relations]

[Text] For 2 years that the Reagan administration has been in office it has been preoccupied with one major task, a buildup of American military machine. [sentence as heard] The White House plans to spend at least $1 and 1/2 trillion for the purpose in the next 5 years. This is as much as the United States spent on military purposes in the 30 years that followed World War II. For 2 years the American policy of arms buildup has been accomplanied by the foreign policy based on the threat of the use of armed strength, including nuclear blackmail and coercion. For 2 years statements and practical deeds of American leaders have been reflecting the country's imperial ambitions to achieve a pax Americana contrary to the realities of our time and to commonsense.

The analysis of pronouncements of American leaders for the past 2 years brings you willy-nilly to the conclusion that they proceed from the assumption that a nuclear war is inevitable and even necessary. The American President believes that some of his countrymen will survive and some of the country's production capacities will preserve, so it will be possible to begin everything anew. Vice President George Bush declared that it is possible to win a nuclear war. The President's adviser for Soviet affairs, Richard Pipes, thinks it is possible to secure nuclear supremacy over the Soviet Union through the qualitative arms buildup. This is only a small part of the pronouncements made by high-ranking officials of the present administration. Their practical result has been the appearance of the two documents; one the 5-year directive to the defense ministry, and the other the Pentagon's plan for implementing the directives of the White House concerning strategic policies, dated by the middle of last year. The documents contain instructions as to the possibility to wage and win a protracted nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Such are some of the practical results achieved by the Reagan administration during its 2 years in office. These are dangerous results that cast a thick shadow not only on Soviet-American relations but on the future of the entire mankind. Great responsibility lies on those who try to make the inconceivable, a nuclear catastrophe, permissible.

Since we live in the nuclear age such frivolity in political thinking is an impermissble thing. The unrestrained bellicoseness of the White House is amazing since it is groundless and unprovoked. On the contrary, throughout the 2 past years the Soviet Union waited patiently when reason and the feeling of responsibility would finally take the upper hand in Washington. [sentence as heard] This did not happen, however. The administration kept rejecting offhand all the Soviet initiatives on disarmament and the reduction of the threat of a nuclear war. The latest example of this is Washington's negative reaction to the proposal for reducing and limiting strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear arms in Europe put forward by General Secretary Yuriy Andropov.

While stressing its intention to play an honors game with Moscow the White House at the same time has been stubbornly bidding for illusory superiority over the Soviet Union. The experience of the past years which current American leaders choose to ignore says this bid will lead nowhere. In fact American officials had a chance to see during the past 2 years that this was true.

The Reagan administration has 2 more years to go in office, but the Russians and the Americans will find themselves at the loser's end should Washington officials fail to understand that they are engaged in a dangerous and hopeless game.

U.S. PUBLIC REPORTEDLY GLOOMY ABOUT NEW YEAR

LD082006 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Aleskandr Druzhinin dispatch]

[Text] The lights of the New Year trees have been extinguished. The festive bustle has died down. Normal routine has returned and together with it had come reflection about what 1983 has in store for the United States. However, these thoughts are not joyful ones. The journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, which is close to U.S. military circles, published this map in its New Year edition. [camera shows map showing military dispositions in the world] It has also published a forecast of how events in the international arena will develop in 1983. The journal predicts crises everywhere. Relations with the Soviet Union will not improve. The U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT gloomily prophesies that trouble spots will arise throughout the world, in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

In December, the House of Representatives and the Senate refused to allocate funds for the development of prototypes of the MX missile. In the New Year, the White House and the Pentagon will continue their attempts to steamroller the plan for the manufacture of MX missiles through Congress and to win approval for it. It was in this atmosphere of military psychosis that Americans saw the New Year, 1983, arrive. And there is nothing surprising in the fact that many people here lack confidence in the future and are afraid of what it holds. But at the same time protests against the policy of the Reagan administration are intensifying in the country. The antiwar movement is growing.

[Begin video interview with woman speaking in English, fading to superimposed Russian translation] An increasing number of Americans are profoundly anxious to bring about a freeze in nuclear armaments, says (Michele Firozini), one of the leaders of the 12 June coalition, an antiwar organization. We also want Americans to realize the danger posed by the plans to deploy MX missiles in the United States and to station Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Europe. We must do our utmost to prevent the implementation of these dangerous plans. [Russian translation ends, English original continues]...will be out of control, you cannot detect these missiles. [end video recording]

U.S. GOVERNMENT 'INCOMPETENT,' HAS 'ERODED TRUST'

LD071954 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] New York January 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

Two years into the Reagan presidency, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, Americans are beginning to suspect "the awful truth: They have a government incompetent to govern, a president frozen in ideological fantasy-land." An unmistakable symptom of this incompetence, according to the newspapers, is the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

During the past two years unemployment has risen by 50 percent to reach 10.8 percent of the able-bodied population, 40 to 50 percent of machinery and plans in the key industries stand idle, and bankruptcies of industrial companies have reached an all time high. The administration faces the prospect of the federal budgetary deficit reaching 200 billion dillars during the next fiscal year.

But Reagan refuses to admit that his economic policy does not work, the newspaper stresses. The President just waves the painful economic facts away and refuses to realise that the actual cause of economic disarray is the uncontrolled growth in military spending, which has broken every record during the Reagan presidency.

Unwillingness to face facts and incompetence erode trust in Reagan even among his "natural backers", the newspaper points out. A Gallup Poll of big business executives shows that in one year those expressing "a great deal of confidence" in Reagan's economic course have fallen from 58 to 27 percent.

Despite the President's eve of the year promises to ensure an early economic revival, major American economists, according to the TIME magazine, predict that this year capital investment in production will shrink by another 8.5 percent, thus worsening recession. We are now going through the peak of a serious crisis, R. De Vries, the leading economist of one of America's major banks, Morgan Guarantee Trust Company of New York, points out.

The bankruptcy of the White House's economic program explains the Americans' growing discontent with their government. A Gallup Poll shows that if the presidential elections took place in the United States today, the incumbent would most certainly lose them. According to the poll, the Republican President is far behind his major potential rivals from the Democratic Party, Senator John Glenn and former U.S. Vice-President Walter Mondale, in popularity. They lead Reagan 54 to 39 and 50 to 40, respectively.

According to CBS, the White House is ruled by uncertainty and disarray and even Reagan's aides admit that they still have no single strategy for the solution of economic problems. According to the CBS, some of the believe that the President is on the brink of panic.

PRAVDA SAYS U.S. PROPAGANDA NOT BELIEVED

LD080008 Moscow TASS in English 2350 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS -- Washington spends billions of dollars on propaganda outside the United States. It reorganises and up-grades personnel and technological equipment and resorts to ever more sophisticated methods of affecting the minds of masses. A truly incredible effort is required to depict the "Soviet threat" -- the main propaganda cover-up for the huge arms race programme and military supremacy drive of the U.S., Petr Alekseyev writes in PRAVDA today. The Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency with its ramified services have also come to help. The propaganda charge is enormous, but it seems to be wasted.

The nations do not believe Washington's malicious propaganda of hostility and confrontation, its absurd slander about the Soviet Union, the commentary says, it is well known that American propaganda is carrying out its "crusade" against the USSR and communism with the exclusive aid of crude falsehoods, deception, and campaigns of subversion and misinformation. Millions of people in the world can see that this propaganda does not hold water.

However hard the imperialists are trying to distort the Soviet Union's domestic and international policy, the truth about its great achievements, its honest and constructive peace policy speaks for itself. It is for this reason that the peoples do not believe American propaganda.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA VIEWS U.S. 'PRESSURE' ON JAPAN

LD091044 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS -- "The overt pressure put on Japan by Washington is part of U.S. plans concerning that region of the globe", writes KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR). "John Holdridge, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific affairs, speaking at a press conference in the U.S. capital, stated that the USA intends to press for expansion of its military and political hegemony in the Far East, in South-east Asia and in the western Pacific. In so doing, he emphasised that Japan remains the key to U.S. strategy in east Asia."

"The Americans' pressure does not receive a fitting rebuff on the part of the ruling circles of Japan," the newspaper observes. "Under the cover of allusions to Washington's endless demands, Japan already under new Prime Minister Nakasone has already rapidly taken several steps in the militarisation ladder."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out that full implementation of the five-year military programme, estimated at 16,000,000 million yen, will make Japan the first among states which do not possess nuclear weapons. "This means that the dangerous shadow of the state which already used its military might against a number of Asian states in the past is again beginning to loom over Asia. This is why the countries of South-east Asia are worried very much by Japan's militarisation process which is gathering momentum and by the U.S. endeavours not only to accelerate the process but also assign to the Japanese military the gendarme functions in that part of the globe."

"The pursuance of the policy of re-militarisation and the obvious endeavours of the ruling forces of Japan to play up to the hegemonist plans of the U.S. Administration and even to participate in them pose a direct threat to peace and security in the Far East", the newspaper sums up. "This contradicts the national interests of Japan itself, too."

NO 'PRACTICAL RESULTS' FROM ABE W. EUROPE TALKS

LD081250 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS -- TASS commentator Igor Maslov writes:

Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe's talks in five West European capitals have not produced any practical results. During one week he has paid visits to Brussels, London (twice), Bonn, Paris and Rome.

What is the reason for such a strenuous West European tour of the foreign minister of Japan? Contradictions have lately come to a head between the European Economic Community and Japan in trade and economy. They are caused by the economic crisis besetting the sides, which each of them is trying to resolve in its own way: Japan by massively invading the West European market and the EEC by imposing restrictions on Japanese exports to West Europe. The Japanese monopolies are now on top: In acute rivalry they have taken the lead in a number of West European countries in the sales of cars, video recorders, optical technology, electric engineering and electronics products, etc.

Small wonder that Shintaro Abe had to conduct his talks in a complex situation. He tried to assure Gaston Thorn, chairman of the Commission of the European communities, and his deputy Etienne d'Avignon of Tokyo's "good intentions" and its "honest competition" in the trade and economic field during his talks with them at the Common Market's headquarters in Brussels.

These assurances, however, did not have their effect on the representatives of the Commission, who stated that the Common Market was suffering huge losses from year to year because they could not sell enough goods on the Japanese market.

According to the Commission of the European communities, the EEC's deficit in trade with Japan will reach an all-time high of roughly 14 billion dollars in 1982.

Trade and economic relations between France and Japan have become particularly acute. Paris blames Tokyo for its unwillingness to import French products, while the Japanese Government has voiced its displeasure over France's decision to decimate the present imports of Japanese video recorders.

Contraditions between Japan and Western Europe also surfaced during Shintaro Abe's talks in London, Bonn and Rome. Leaders of the Italian Government complained of the very high deficit in trade with Japan, which had piled up to 318 billion lire during the first seven months of last year. The talks in London demonstrated differences of approach between the two countries to the solution of trade and economic problems. Britain believes that discrepancies in trade exchanges with Japan seriously aggravate tension in world trade.

Shintaro Abe's talks in the West European capitals demonstrated that contraditions between the monopolies of the Common Market and Japan continue to grow: Each side tries to benefit at the expense of the other.

PRAVDA on Outcome of Talks

LD100720 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT 10 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS -- The trip of the Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe to Western Europe did not iron out the acuteness of economic contraditions between Japan and the EEC, but only demonstrated their growing proportions, writes in PRAVDA its Brussels correspondent Vladislav Drobkov. He recalls that the Japanese minister made a marathon tour of five West European capital cities. Having started with Brussels, he visited London, Bonn, Paris and Rome where he met with leaders of the leading Common Market countries.

The main aim of his visit, as is noted by the local press, the author points out, was to resume dialogue with the main trade partners of Japan in Western Europe and to try to tone down the outburst of acute contraditions between them and the country of the Rising Sun.

In the recent weeks and months, the commentary runs, these contraditions reached unprecedented proportions and now threaten with the beginning of veritable "trade warfare" between the EEC and Japan. At the recent meeting in Brussels the foreign ministers of the Common Market member-countries decided to lodge a complain with GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) against Japan's aggressive policy in trade and its high barriers raised to West European exports.

Now that the economic crisis persists and the capitalist competition sharply heightens, the commentary runs, the Japanese offensive gives rise to increasingly more painful reaction on the part of monopolies and governments in Western Europe, demands are made that a free access of EEC commodities to Japan be ensured.

"In the recent time Tokyo took some steps towards liberalization of trade. But in the Common Market these steps are considered to be insufficient. But as Shintaro Abe made it clear, in Tokyo they so far do not intend to do something more."

UPCOMING NAKASONE TRIP TO SEOUL VIEWED

OW091357 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 8 Jan 83

[(Vasiliy Aluseyev) commentary]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Yashuhiro Nakasone is scheduled to visit Seoul next week.

The following is a commentary by commentator (Vasily Aluseyev) on this visit:

According to Japanese press reports, the main topic of the talks between Prime Minister Nakasone and Chon Tu-hwan, head of the Seoul regime, will be the question of providing a huge credit to South Korea. After marathon negotiations, the Japanese Government agreed in principle last year to provide a whopping $4 billion in credit despite Japan's own tight financial condition.

Because the Chon Tu-hwan regime had requested a much larger amount of aid, negotiations were put off several times. But the decisive factor in making Japan give the aforementioned consent was the pressure by the U.S. Government on the Japanese Government.

The Chon Tu-hwan regime is known for having turned the spearhead of attack on the democratic movement in South Korea and takes pride in its being an anticommunist bastion. On these grounds, the Seoul regime was pressing Japan to provide a greater amount of financial aid. If the United States had taken a different position, this request would not have drawn such a favorable response from Japan. President Reagan revoked the promise President Carter made 6 years ago to withdraw U.S. ground troops from South Korea. President Reagan is not only keeping a considerable troop strength in South Korea but is also sending additional equipment. In addition, currently underway is the process of converting South Korea into a still larger base of aggression in the Far East with direct U.S. support. The modernization of the Seoul government's troops is progressing, and the United States is active in its efforts to draw South Korea into various military and political moves toward the final goal of organizing a new military and political bloc in the Far East.

Seen in this light, Japan's financial aid to South Korea assumes a different significance. Seoul took no pains to conceal the fact that it needs Japanese credits for military purposes. But Japan frowned upon this overt attitude because it wanted to camouflage the real nature of the proposed aid. But it is no secret that South Korea wants aid in order to increase its military strength and aggravate tension on the Korean peninsula. A Japan Socialist Party statement noted this.

In addition to financial aid, Japan bears the burden of political support for the despotic South Korean regime. Since the 1969 Japan-U.S. joint statement, the Japanese Government has realized such political support through various subsequent statements issued with the United States and with South Korea.

An agreement in principle has reportedly been reached on the draft Japan-South Korea joint communique to be issued after the conclusion of the 11-12 January Nakasone-Chon Tu-hwan talks. It is said that the substance of this communique will be virtually the same as that of the final statement issued after the Japan-South Korea ministerial conference in September 1981, at which South Korea succeeded, with U.S. help, in having Japan highly appraise South Korea's military efforts. [passage indistinct]

L. PONOMAREV COMMENTS ON AFGHAN SITUATION

LD072328 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS) -- TASS observer Leonid Ponomarev writes:

As the agency UPI has reported from Islambad, while speaking in the town of Quetta last Thursday President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan touched upon the so-called "Afghan question." In his words, the "problem of Afghanistan" is allegedly an "issue" for the Nonaligned Movement. However, this is an artificial and illegal connection. As is known, the Nonaligned Movement is an important factor working for improvement in the international situation, and the DRA as a sovereign and independent state plays an active role in it.

However, the Washington ruling circles, having unleashed an undeclared war against the Afghan people, are maliciously falsifying the picture of progressive transformations and the true situation in Afghanistan, deliberately ignoring the fact that the 1978 national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan was the natural result of the prolonged struggle of the mass of working people for true liberation from the centuries-long oppression of exploiters, despotism and backwardness.

The character of the revolution is antifeudal and anti-imperialist, which causes particular anger among the ruling clique of the United States. Washington would like to see Afghanistan backward, downtrodden, and fulfilling the role of the obedient instrument for implementation of the imperialist and hegemonist plans of the United States and their allies in south-west Asia. Having come up against the boundless will of the people and Government of the DRA to achieve all-round economic, social and cultural progress, imperialism and reaction have begun large-scale intervention against Democratic Afghanistan. And up to now they have been sending armed bandit units, subversive and terrorist groups into its territory which murder civilians, rape, steal, burn schools, hospitals and mosques. According to all international norms, this cannot be seen as anything but crude aggression which is in no way provoked. The United States and those who blindly follow it have created a conflict situation in this region of the world and it is precisely their fault that the situation remains tense around Afghanistan.

The DRA Government, for its part, maintaining a policy of peace and goodneighborliness, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, a policy of nonalignment, based on the strengthening of relations and friendship and cooperation with all progressive countries and international organizations, has continually demonstrated its good will and readiness to seriously talk about a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The road to such a settlement is known and open -- the bases of this are contained in the DRA's proposals put forward in May 1980 and August 1981. The commencement of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal representative of the UN general secretary is seen as favorable by progressive world public opinion. Such talks could lead to qualitative progress in a political settlement, but for this to be achieved talks have to be held in a serious manner with the DRA Government. He who is in deeds, andnot in words, interested in eliminating the tension around Afghanistan, must understand that the DRA is not a mirage, not a phantom but a political reality. Like it or not, Democratic Afghanistan exists, is developing, fighting and winning, and building a new life.

KITSENKO NOTES DRA ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

LD100740 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 10 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS -- Fulfilment of Afghanistan's economic plan in the first six months of the current Afghan year (ending by March 21) has been assessed in the republic, PRAVDA's special correspondent in Kabul Oleg Kitsenko writes.

Areas under cultivation have increased by 0.5 percent, he points out. Production of wheat and vegetables grew by four and 5.2 percent respectively, of citrus and oil-bearing plants by 28.4 and 5.3 percent respectively. Meat production increased by 14.7 percent.

Agricultural production growth is largely due to the state's greater aid to the peasants.

The industry has also scored successes, according to the dispatch. The state and mixed sectors produced over the first six months of this year 3.7 percent more than during the corresponding period last year. A particularly high rise was recorded in consumer production, production of cotton and woollen fabrics increased by 28 percent, of what flour by 5.1 percent, electricity generation went up by 9.2 percent.

An official spokesman for the country's central bank denied in an interview with the newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR western propaganda claims about the "plight" of the Afghan economy, the PRAVDA correspondent writes.

Over the past two years, he said, a certain growth on all indicators was achieved. Gross national produce increased over that period by five percent. Spending for social needs nearly doubled.

Despite the fact that Western countries and West-controlled international financial institutes unilaterally halted aid and credits to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan they failed to curtail Afghanistan's trade links. In 1980-1981, Afghanistan's foreign trade amounted to 526 million dollars, whereas in the first half of the Afghan year 1982-1983 it reached 426 million dollars.

Afghanistan's economic relations with socialist countries, the interview points out, fully accords with the interests of Afghanistan's economic development, promoting its economic and political independence.

TRUD INTERVIEWS AFGHAN TRADE UNION OFFICIAL

LD081752 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS -- Councils of trade unions have been set up and have been active at the enterprises of Kabul and all the provinces in the past three years, 'Abdol-Sattar Purdeli, chairman of the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions, said in an interview with the newspaper TRUD. The numerous initiatives of the DRA's trade unions find unanimous support in working collectives. "To ensure the safety of enterprises is the duty of the working collectives" slogan has been taken up everywhere. Trade-union members voluntarily join self-defence detachments in order to ensure reliable security of industrial facilities and to defend the working people against intrigues of the enemies of the revolution, Our goal is to ensure reliable guarding of all production facilities without exception by industrial and office workers who joined self-defence detachments.

A large amount of effective work is being done by trade union bodies to inspect and rehabilitate enterprises destroyed by bands of insurgents.

An increasingly safe and, it means, calm work of production collectives makes it possible to launch emulation among workers. Successful efforts to increase the output of products and to save raw materials and electric power are impossible without emulation. The emulation is gaining in scope in connection with the approaching fifth anniversary of the April Revolution.

The role of trade unions grows in the socio-economic development of working collectives and in raising the living and cultural standards of workers and employees as well as of their families.

On trade unions' initiative, 'Abdol-Sattar Purdeli related, a holiday-home for workers has been organized in Jalalabad, kindergartens have been set up in Kabul's districts of Pulecharhi and Jangalak, and medical aid stations -- at many enterprises. A successful solution of these matters is promoted by the material means earned by workers on days of voluntary labour. The earnings are used for the construction of kindergartens, for the improvement of living conditions, studies and upbringing of those children whose parents perished in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of the April Revolution.

The trade unions consider it their vital duty to show concern for children, for the growing generation. Afghan children's summer holidays at the Young Pioneer camps of the Soviet Union become traditional.

Important work is being conducted by trade unions among working people to eliminate illiteracy and to raise cultural levels. Three hundred and sixty libraries, a hundred of vocal and instrumental ensembles, 434 sports teams have been set up in organizations of Kabul and the provinces and 460 wall newspapers are issued.

BOKHONKO ON U.S.-PAKISTANI 'MILITARY COLLUSION'

LD072038 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] New Delhi January 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Aleksandr Bokhonko reports:

The U.S.-Pakistani military collusion spearheaded against Pakistan's neighbours is assuming evermore clearcut outlines. In return for large-scale deliveries to Pakistan of offensive U.S. armaments, including 40 up-to-date F-16 fighter bombers, the Pentagon obtained the right to station in Karachi a U.S. command headquarters for the Rapid Deployment Force intended for use in the Persian Gulf area and South West Asia. Secret bases of electronic tracking for ensurance of military operations in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and also for collection of intelligence information about countries of South West Asia and South Asia will be set up in Peshawar, Gwadar and Sargodha.

Agreement about this was achieved during the recent trip of Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq to Washington where he had meetings with U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and the head of the National Security Agency, the NATIONAL HERALD newspaper close to the government writes today. After these meetings, the newspaper writes, General Ziaul Haq said that "a new understanding of our interests and priority political tasks in the region" had been achieved during his talks with U.S. officials.

Analysing the character of the U.S.-Pakistani collusion, local observers note that it reflects the United States' striving to gear faster the Pakistani military regime to its aggressive strategy, to turn it into a ready tool of U.S. imperialism in the Islamic world.

PAKISTANI OPPOSITION LEADER ON AFGHAN REBEL AID

LD062244 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 6 Jan 83

[Text] New Delhi January 6 TASS -- The present Pakistani leadership has turned the country into a trans-shipment point for supplying weapons to counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan, said 'Abdul Wali Khan, a prominent Pakistani political figure, one of the leaders of the opposition to the military regime.

According to the Indian news agency UNI, he said that Afghan counter-revolutionaries not only used the territory of Pakistan as a jumping-off ground but were increasingly meddling in the internal political struggle in Pakistan, siding with ultra right-wing forces. That created a dangerous situation in the country, 'Abdul Wali Khan said.

SRV'S VAN TIEN DUNG RECEIVES USTINOV GREETINGS

LD071828 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Hanoi VNA January 7 -- Defence Minister General Van Tien Dung has received a message of greetings from his Soviet counterpart, Marshal D.F. Ustinov, on the 38th anniversary of the Vietnam people's Armed Forces.

The Soviet defence minister wishes General Van Tien Dung and the Vietnamese Armed Forces new success in the tasks of national defence assigned them by the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

He wishes for constant consolidation and development of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and Armed Forces.

1982 USSR-SRV ECONOMIC COOPERATION REVIEWED

OW061200 Moscow in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1300 GMT 4 Jan 83

[Unattributed commentary: "Development of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and Vietnam in 1982"]

[Text] Last year was the 27th year of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. In the past, our two countries have accumulated ample experience in this field and have created most effective forms of cooperation. From the forum of the Fifth VCP Congress, Comrade Le Duan evaluated the economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam as follows: The Soviet Union has supplied our economy with materials, technology and goods necessary for production and the people's livelihood, and has assisted us in building a number of key projects that serve as material and technical bases of socialism.

Early last year, more than 200 enterprises built with Soviet assistance provided Vietnam with all the metal-cutting machines, apatite and superphosphate fertilizer, [words indistinct], three-fourths of the machines and one-third of the electric power needed. More than 100,000 Vietnamese acquired various professional skills after graduating from vocational middle schools or from the technological centers at the enterprises built in Vietnam with Soviet assistance. Nearly 200,000 Vietnamese youths graduated from Soviet colleges.

Last year many more brilliant pages were added to the chronicles of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Dozens of industrial enterprises jointly built by the Soviet Union and Vietnam continued their operations at a progressive pace. Typical is the Hoa Binh hydroelectric power plant, whose benefits can be felt even before its inauguration. In fact, after completion of the current stage of its construction, the plant will help prevent the floods that have so far threatened the Red River delta. A huge reservoir will provide water for tens of thousands of hectares of ricefields, thus helping achieve a high-yield 10th-month rice harvest.

Last year the joint enterprise for petroleum and gas exploration and exploitation continued its operations on the continental shelf of southern Vietnam in Vung Tau. As stressed by the Fifth VCP Congress, (?oil rigs) will soon be seen in Vietnam's coastal areas as an additional material evidence of the strength and effectiveness of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship. The Bim Son cement plant began its initial production drive. When it is fully operational, it will help basically solve the problem of producing construction materials locally. Among the enterprises built by Vietnam with Soviet assistance and put into operation in the initial construction stage is the Mong Duong coal mine with a total capacity of 9 million tons of coal per year, an amount greater than that produced by all coal mines in Vietnam in 1980.

Last year thousands of Vietnamese youths completed their apprenticeship at Soviet industrial enterprises and gained ample experience from advanced Soviet workers.

The eighth session of the intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam held in Hanoi late last year stressed that the two countries would strive to develop all economic sectors and establishments of Vietnam so that, within a short time, it will be able to exploit its rich national resources and utilize all available production potentials and manpower with high efficiency and improve the people's livelihood. Implementation of the protocol on goods exchange for 1983 recently signed in Hanoi will contribute to the fulfillment of these tasks. As specified in the protocol, the Soviet Union will increase its supply of goods to Vietnam by 30 percent over 1982, including goods necessary for Vietnam's economy such as trucks, tractors, electrical and transport equipment, petroleum products and cotton. The amount of consumer goods to be supplied by the Soviet Union will also considerably increase.

At their meeting in Moscow late last December, Comrades Andropov and Le Duan emphasized the resolve of the CPSU and the VCP to continue developing and perfecting the all-round Soviet-Vietnamese relations sealed by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the SRV.

Undoubtedly, this New Year will be a year of continual development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between our two countries.

MOSCOW MEETING MARKS FOURTH PRK ANNIVERSARY

Kampuchean Ambassador, Dvoryakovskiy Speak

OW092351 Moscow in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1300 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Summary] A meeting has been held in Moscow at the hall of friendship with other nations by representatives of the working people of the Soviet capital to mark the national day of the People's Republic of Kampuchea's. Our correspondent reports:

Responsible cadres of the party and state, members of the Soviet-Kampuchean Friendship Society and representatives of various strata of the people of the Soviet capital gathered in a large room of the hall of friendship which was decorated with flags and flowers. The participants in the grand meeting enthusiastically greeted PRK Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union Hor Nam Hong. Addressing them, the DPRK ambassador said:

[Recording in Cambodian fading into Vietnamese translation] January 7, 1979 was a day of extremely great historical significance for the entire Kampuchean people. On that day, they recovered their right to life and freedom after nearly 4 years of suffering under the domination of the criminals Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. The latter's stay in power cost more than 3 million Kampuchean lives. They destroyed the whole culture, economy and social foundations of Kampuchea.

"On 7 January 1979, with the fraternal Vietnamese people's assistance full of international spirit, the Kampuchean people joined their revolutionary armed forces in liberating their country from the adventurous regime's domination. The years that have gone by since then are too short a time to have restored the entire destroyed country. However, under the leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, our people have devoted all their efforts to rehabilitating their country and defending the fruits of their revolution. The people's administration at various levels has remained steady. Agricultural and industrial production, transportation, communications and information have been developing with every passing day. Many achievements have been registered in the fields of people's education and health. The Kampuchean people have truly become masters of their own destiny."

Ambassador Hor Nam Hong stressed: "The achievements recorded in all fields during this extremely short and difficult period would not have been possible were it not for the assistance of fraternal socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Laos, to whom we are deeply grateful." [end recording]

The Soviet people are truly elated over the achievements registered by the Kampuchean people in restoring and developing their economy and all aspects of social life. The Soviet Union resolutely supports the young republic's efforts aimed at building a new life and the political line put forth by Kampuchea together with fraternal Vietnam and Laos with a view to ensuring peace and stability in Southeast Asia and solving all disputes by peaceful means. This was stated by Comrade Dvoryakovskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Kampuchean Friendship Society and deputy minister of the USSR Medical Industry Ministry, in his address at the grand meeting in Moscow. He said:

[Recording in Russian fading into Vietnamese translation] "Relations between the Soviet Union and Kampuchea on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and proletarian internationalism are being increasingly consolidated and developed. The proof of the (?fraternal) nature of these relations were the events of the past year such as the meeting between Comrade Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee; the visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade Hun Sen, PRK foreign minister; and the Kampuchean delegation's participation in the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

"The Soviet Union continues to provide great assistance for Kampuchea in the development of agriculture and industry and in the training of cadres. The fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Kampuchea in terms of mass organizations is being constantly developed.

"The Kampuchean people's struggle for genuine independence and freedom always enjoys enthusiastic support by the Soviet people and the members of the Soviet-Kampuchean Friendship Society. We have learned with concern about the provocative activities of the imperialist and reactionary circles which have launched a slanderous propaganda campaign concerning the so-called Vietnamese and Kampuchean threat to Southeast Asian countries. With the so-called Coalition Government made up of leaders of Pol Pot remnant forces and reactionary Kampucheans in exile, they are endeavoring to check the course of the Kampuchean people's revival.

"As stressed by Comrade Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the grand meeting marking the USSR's 60th founding anniversary, no one should reverse the development of history." [end recording]

"Concluding his address, Comrade Dvoryakovskiy said: There is no doubt that with their successes, the Kampuchean people will surmount all trials and a prosperous Kampuchea will be successfully built on ancient Kampuchea."

The meeting was concluded by a musical performance. This commemorative ceremony opened Soviet-Kampuchean friendship week in the Soviet Union.

Ambassador Speaks in TV Program

LD071908 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 83

[From the Vremya newscast]

[Text] A solemn meeting devoted to the fourth anniversary of Kampuchea's liberation and the formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea took place in Phnom Penh today. Speaking at the meeting, Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and president of the State Council, stressed that the successes achieved by People's Kampuchea in the past 4 years are linked very closely with the fraternal aid given by the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries to the young republic.

Taking part in our program is Hor Nam Hong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the Soviet Union:

[Begin video recording] Hor Nam Hong speaks in Kampuchean fading to Russian translation] Dear comrades and friends. Four years ago our people overthew the Pol Pot regime of genocide and the People's Republic of Kampuchea was born. Our people will never be able to forget that more than 3 million people were barbarously destroyed. In their brutality the Pol Pot people exceeded even the Hitlerite fascists. The country was completely ravaged. During the time since liberation, all the vitally important sectors of our economy have been restored. This year, agricultural production is more than double the level of 1979. People's education is developing rapidly. Today 1 and 1/2 million students attend primary or secondary school. Particular efforts have been made to develop public health. At the present time, both in the capital and in all provinces, regions and districts there are hospitals, polyclinics and medical points.

Dear comrades and friends: The Kampuchean people are consistently moving along the socialist road. They are striving to preserve and to strengthen even more the traditional militant solidarity with Vietnam and Laos. They are also striving to ensure that inviolable friendship and fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union will increasingly develop and gain in strength. The Kampuchean people are deeply grateful to the Soviet Government and the great fraternal Soviet people for the active and constant support and the generous assistance in many forms which they have always given in difficult times. Similar feelings are also felt by the Kampuchean people toward the other fraternal socialist countries.

Our foreign policy is a policy of peace and cooperation with all countries based on mutual respect and equality, independence, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and on mutual advantage. The policy of nonalignment remains the policy of principle of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Our enemies are striving by all means to hamper the Kampuchean people's rebirth. They have created a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. The clear aim of this spectacle is to deceive international public opinion, using Sihanouk's name to conceal the political corpse of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea. But no matter what the maneuvers, no matter what the unbridled slander to which our enemies resort, the history of Kampuchea cannot be turned back. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is unswervingly moving forward. Thank you for your attention. [end video recording]

Education Minister in Radio Forum

OW100453 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Summary] Four years ago, on 7 January 1979, the Kampuchean people liberated the capital Phnom Penh from the occupation of the Pol Pot elements, and later the clique that had turned Kampuchea into a big concentration camp was completely driven out of Kampuchea. In accordance with a resolution of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, 7 January of this year was declared as the day of International support for the Kampuchean people.

The following is an introduction to a round-table forum on the changes that have taken place in Kampuchea and the situation of the Kampuchean youths since the liberation. The forum was attended by PRK Education Minister Pen Navouth, Revolutionary Youth League Central Committee Vice Chairman (Li-Tung-Pa) and two Kampuchean students (Chai-Chin) and (Ni-Sheng). The forum was presided over by this station's observer (Karlov).

(Chai-Chin) said: [Begin recording in Cambodian fading into Mandarin translation] "The 3 years, 8 months and 20 days in which the Pol Pot authorities ruled Kampuchea were the most serious ordeal for the people of our country."

"In Kampuchea, there was not a single family that did not suffer from the catastrophe." The fighters of the People's Revolutionary Army saved me and others on the night of 4 January 1979. On 7 January, I joined with others in entering Phnom Penh. [end recording]

[Ni-Sheng) said that educational personnel were cruelly killed in large numbers under the Pol Pot rule and that an indictment read in the People's Revolutionary Military Court in August 1979 showed that only 2 of the 725 university teachers and 207 of 2,500 middle school teachers survived. He said that the people's revolution has fundamentally changed the situation of Kampuchean youths with the complete restoration of the education system. (Ni-Sheng) praised the Soviet Union as the second home of the Kampuchean youths studying in Soviet schools.

The PRK Education Minister Pen Navouth said that the Soviet friends' help to Kampuchea means many things. He said: [Begin recording in Cambodian, fading into Mandarin translation] "In the first few days after our country was liberated from the rule of the Pol Pot authorities in January 1979, the Soviet Union gave us urgent and effective help. As a result of the support by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, we smoothly solved the most serious difficulties in food, medical treatment, communications and transportation at the beginning. The Soviet experts helped us reopen the Phnom Penh higher industrial institute which, like other schools of higher learning, had been closed down by the Pol Pot elements and had had its property totally plundered. With the assistance of Soviet friends, technological education was established in the capital of our country and various other kinds of schools were set up in other cities. The Soviet experts who generously passed on their experiences and knowledge to the Kampuchean people deserve a great deal of praise and appreciation. Since the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique, the changes in Kampuchea have been tremendous. Four years ago, Kampuchea was actually a country whose economy and culture had completely collapsed; and now it is a country which is advancing along the road of socialist construction full of confidence. It is also enjoying higher and higher international prestige. In this respect, the Soviet people have made tremendous contributions." [end recording]

If there had been no conspiratorial activities carried out by the Khmer reactionaries, People's Kampuchea would have scored greater achievements. The enemies of the PRK tried to defend themselves by alleging that the Pol Pot elements are the lawful representatives of the Kampuchean people's interests and are supported by the Kampuchean people. Is that true?

In answer to this question, (Li-Tung-Pa), vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Youth League, said: [Begin recording in Cambodian fading into Mandarin] "The proposal by the so-called coalition government headed by the Pol Pot elements and other attempts to legalize the activities of the anti-Kampuchea reactionaries have aroused the indignation and (?rejection) of the Kampuchean youths and entire Kampuchean people. If the traitorous criminals Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were sentenced to death by the People's Revolutionary Military Court in Phnom Penh, how could the Pol Pot elements and their foreign lawyers discuss their so-called legality?

"We have striven for the right to live as normal people and to study and work to seek the fatherland's happiness. Now there are people who want to deprive us of all this and to put the slave's shackle on us again. However, the Kampuchean people would not allow such attempts. Four years ago, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and their followers were driven out of our country. I believe that they were driven out forever." [end recording]

PARTY, GOVERNMENT GREETS, HONORS CSSR'S HUSAK

LD091122 Moscow in Czech and Slovak to Czechoslovakia 1600 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent greetings to Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The message says:

Dear Comrade Husak: The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers warmly greet and cordially congratulate you, the outstanding party and state leader of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and prominent figure in the international communist movement, on your 70th birthday. Half a century of your life is indissolubly linked with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the cause of the struggle for socialism. Your active role in the Slovak national uprising, your indefatigable work to establish people's rule, your services in the defense of the gains of socialism and the consolidation of the CPCZ in Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist positions and your personal contribution to the development and implementation of the policies of the CPCZ, under whose leadership great successes have been achieved in the building of socialism on the soil of Czechoslovakia, have earned you profound respect and high authority with Soviet communists and the whole Soviet people.

In our country you are well known as a true friend of the Soviet Union, a convinced, consistent internationlist and a tireless fighter for the deepening of friendship and multilateral cooperation between the USSR and fraternal Czechoslovakia. Your activity in the interests of strengthening the socialist community, the cohesion of the international communist movement and the cause of peace throughout the world inspires profound respect in our country. With all our hearts we wish you, dear Comrade Husak, the greeting says, good health, creative strength and new successes in your work for the good of Socialist Czechoslovakia, and in the name of peace and socialism and the further strengthening of fraternal relations between the CPSU and the CPCZ and between our countries and peoples.

By a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for great services and courage demonstrated in the struggle against fascism, for his outstanding role in developing fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, for his great contribution to consolidating peace and socialism and in connection with his 70th birthday, Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, has been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal have been conferred upon him. The decreee was signed by Vasiliy Kuznetsov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

POLAND, USSR SOCIETY OFFICIALS DISCUSS ACTIVITIES

PM071707 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Dec 82 Second Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent M. Tretyakov report under the rubric "Poland": "True to Unity"]

[Text] The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, whose 25th anniversary is being celebrated these days, was one of the targets on which the counterrevolution in Poland committed particularly fierce attacks.

Solidarity thugs repeatedly broke the windows in the building of the society's Main Board and committed other provocations. Their aim was clear: to put the society in disarray. At SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's request, M. Tretyakov, TASS correspondent in Warsaw, met with society workers and activists.

This is what S. Nawrot, general secretary of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Main Board said:

"Compared with 1980, the society's membership has fallen by 32 percent. This is a result of the complex situation which Poland has been living through. The time has now come to switch to rallying the aktiv and engage in vigorous action with a view to propagandizing Polish-Soviet friendship. Many thousands of Polish graduates of Soviet Vuzes, specialists who have worked on construction projects in the USSR and Polish servicemen who fought in the Soviet Army's ranks during World War II should be involved more widely in public work.

"We must use specific examples to show that the Soviet Union has achieved high economic indicators through its selfless labor and won tremendous international prestige. This has been made possible thanks to the joint efforts of Soviet workers, peasants and the intelligentsia. It is precisely this thesis that we must propagandize with special force in Polish society today," S. Nawrot emphasized.

The next meeting was with Mieczyslaw Slupski, chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society organization at the Warsaw optical plant.

"This year has been particularly full of glorious dates in the life of the Soviet people," he said. "The 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation, 25 years of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society -- these portentous events have been very important directions in the work of our organization, which has a membership of approximately 600 workers.

"The plant board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society has a movie discussion club, which regularly shows Soviet movies. Many society activists systematically improve their knowledge of Russian at a branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Russian Language Institute. Our specialists, who have had practical work experience in the Soviet Union, in particular at the Leningrad Lomo plant, enjoy great prestige among young workers. In 10-15 years' time these young people will be at the state's helm, determining our country's policy. And therefore, by instilling respect for labor and the socialist way of life and a profound sense of internationalism in them today, we are fufilling our paramount tasks.

"It seems to me," M. Slupski continued, "that to a certain extent we have coped with these tasks: Even at the most difficult period of the counterrevolutionary debouchery in the country and the unbridled campaign of anti-Sovietism, in our plant not one measure organized by the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society was wrecked, and there were no instances of the dissemination of anti-Soviet slogans or provocative leaflets directed against the USSR.

"We are well aware that the counterrevolution has not laid down its arms and that the subversive Radio Free Europe and Voice of America will once again try to compromise the Soviet Union in the eyes of Poles. Therefore we devote very close attention to explanatory work among our plant's working people about the disinterested assistance of the USSR and the other socialist community countries, without which we would find it far harder to struggle against the profound economic crisis. We workers believe that the friendship between our peoples, sealed by jointly shed blood and tempered in the restoration and development of the industrial potential of People's Poland, is strengthening. And if anyone was fainthearted in the difficult period of the struggle against counterrevolution, did not withstand the concentrated anti-Soviet propaganda and left the society, that is no calamity. They were weak, vacillating people, ballast which frequently only harmed our organization."

SIGNIFICANCE OF UK DEFENSE MINISTRY CHANGE VIEWED

LD071914 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] London January 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Viytaliy Chukseyev reports:

Reorganisation of the British Cabinet of Ministers, just announced by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, is regarded by London political watchers as government preparations for launching a campaign against the growing anti-war movement in Britain. As is known, the principal aim of the movement -- unparalled for its scope -- is to prevent the scheduled emplacement of U.S. cruise missiles on British soil, modernisation of the British nuclear force and the continued presence of U.S. military facilities on the British Isles.

That is why, analysing recent government reshuffles, the British press is giving principal attention to one new appointment to a leading post -- that of the defence secretary. The job will go to Michael Heseltine, former secretary for environmental issues.

According to the newspaper GUARDIAN, Heseltine's chief task will be to lead the government campaign to try to undercut the British peace movement.

Heseltine, who has come to be known as a firm and able organiser, is also expected to "put his own house (Defense Ministry) in order". He will have at his disposal Britain's largest ever military appropriations which are to exceed 16,000 million pound sterling in the 1982/1983 financial year. The increase in military spending has largely been due to relentless cuts in social programmes. While secretary for environment, Heseltine already had a chance to pursue an "austerity" policy.

The present government reshuffle is already a fourth one since the 1979 coming to office of the conservatives. The newspaper DAILY TELEGRAPH thinks that the appointment of Helseltine, as well as those of other, less ranking ministers, practically amounts to no change in the political course of the government in which the right wing of the Conservative Party is predominant.

It is the view of political analysts that this new "Thatcher team" will remain the one that will try to extend its staying in office by another five years.

BRITAIN SUFFERS 'DIPLOMATIC FIASCO' IN MIDEAST

LD082150 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS -- The Margaret Thatcher Conservative government, which follows Washington in questions of Middle East settlement, has suffered a real diplomatic fiasco, writes today the newspaper IZVESTIYA. A prelude to it, the newspaper recalls, was London's refusal to receive in November last year a high-placed delegation of the League of Arab States, which toured the capitals of five states, permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

Having denied the representatives of the Arab League the right to freely expound their views on problems of the Middle East crisis, the commentary stresses, Britain set itself against the whole of the Arab world. One of the first retaliatory steps was the decision of Saudi Arabia, and then of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar not to receive the British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym who planned to visit that region in January.

As a result, the British foreign secretary cancelled his visit to the Middle East. The conservative Fleet Street press now seeks to belittle the significance of the failure of the Tory policy.

But anxiety reigns in top echelons of power of Britain and also in the city business circles. Saudi Arabia which is Britain's major trade partner warned that trade between the two countries might be reduced.

It is obvious that the Tory leaders by their policy not only inflict damage upon the national interests of Britain but in this case drop out of the general chorus of West European states which hold a more flexible stand in questions of the Middle East crisis, IZVESTIYA writes. As was stated a few days ago by the French Foreign Minsiter Claude Cheysson, participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in any peace negotiations on settlement of the Middle East conflict is the main condition for a comprehensive solution of that problem.

"The abortive action of British Conservatives showed once again what serious consequences could come from their short-sighted policy of following Washington's Camp David course, which prevents a really comprehensive and just settlement in that 'hot point' of the planet," the commentary stresses.

NATO'S ROGERS CRITICIZED FOR INTERVIEW COMMENTS

On Nuclear-Free Zones

LD042014 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 83

[Text] American General Rogers, supreme commander-in-chief of NATO's joint armed forces in Europe, has made another attempt to put pressure on the Nordic countries. In an interview with a Swedish television correspondent he tried to claim that a nuclear-free zone was an illusion which does not help to strengthen the national security of any country. In the opinion of the NATO hawk, the work being put into creating such zones is a waste of time.

The idea of turning the European north into a region free from nuclear weapons is meeting with ever broader support from political, trade union and public organizations in all the Nordic countries. So far more than 2 million people have put their signatures to the appeal to create a nuclear-free zone. The Social Democratic Government of Sweden, headed by Palme, has resolutely called for the practical implementation of the proposal. So Rogers' conjectures that nuclear-free zones are just an illusion are being completely rejected by reality itself.

'Stormy Reaction' Noted

LD080916 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS -- PRAVDA describes as a "gross falsification" of the USSR's foreign policy with regard to Nordic countries -- Finland, in particular -- in the interview which General Bernard Rogers, NATO's supreme allied commander, Europe, gave to the Finnish newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT recently. The main aim of the general's discourses comes to spreading the military-political influence of NATO headed by the USA over to those Nordic countries which are not members of that aggressive bloc and to downplaying the mounting wave of anti-war, anti-NATO actions in Scandinavia, the newspaper points out today in an article headlined "In the Cold-War Spirit."

The general, upon having practically from the threshold rejected Urho Kekkonen's idea of declaring Europe's north a nuclear-free zone, just as the plans for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in general, tried to impose upon the Finns an idea that there allegedly exists a "Soviet military threat" to Finland. Having tapped on the shoulder the neutral Swedes the correctness of whose actions in the event of a conflict, according to Rogers, raises no doubt in NATO, the general stated that as regards the Finns there is no such confidence.

Behind such rehetoric, the newspaper points out, it is not difficult to see an overtly rude provocation. But what else one can expect, so to say, from such a professional instigator. But the very fact that the Finnish newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT has provided rostrum for such provocative pronouncements is surprising." [quotation marks as received]

Having noted the stormy reaction which the general's interview has aroused in Finland, the newspaper writes: "In the light of all this it becomes perfectly obvious that the aim of Rogers' 'reasoning' boiled down to sowing distrust of the policy of the Soviet Union in general and with regard to Finland, in particular, and to driving a wedge in Soviet-Finnish relations which are traditionally based on mutual trust and respect for the interests of each other. That entire interview, the newspaper UUSI SUOMI points out in its leading article, is a fanatical statement in support of the arms race and bellicosity which bears the imprint of a cold-war atmosphere. Such statements are insulting to the Finns and affect their profound striving for independence and for drawing closer together with the Soviet Union."

GREECE 'UNBENDING' ON ISSUE OF U.S. BASES

LD081926 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Athens January 8 TASS -- The Government of Greece is going to come up with an accurate schedule for the dismantling of U.S. military bases situated on Greek territory when U.S.-Greek talks on the future of U.S. bases in Greece resume in Athens at the end of January. The Government of Greece will be unbending in this intention. A statement to this effect has been made by D. Maroudhas, official spokesman for the Government of Greece. He was speaking after a meeting of the government council for foreign and defense policy issues. The meeting held in the capital of Greece was chaired by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou.

It is commonly known that the agreement on the use of U.S. military bases on the territory of Greece expired in 1976. Since that time they have been operating on a temporary basis.

The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement Government (PASOK), which came to power in 1981 has already expressed its desire to rid the country from foreign military presence in future. However, during the talks held so far U.S. negotiators were trying to delay the solution of the problem indefinitely.

U.S. MOVING TO INCREASE BASES IN PORTUGAL

LD100750 Moscow TASS in English 0724 GMT 10 Jan 83

["PRAVDA About U.S. Pressure on Portugal" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS -- Washington intends to impose on Lisbon an additional bilateral military agreement, the purpose of which ultimately is to turn Portugal into a strategic place d'armes of the United States, Valeriy Volkov writes in PRAVDA today, commenting on the U.S. request to Portugal for the right to use military installations in mainland Portugal, specifically for the permission "to build a U.S. satellite and missile tracking facility in Porgugal's territory as well as to deploy U.S. refueller planes at Portuguese air force bases and to base U.S. aircraft carriers in one of the Portuguese ports."

The author says that U.S. military planners do not bother to conceal their striving for a 'comprehensive' use of Portugal's territory in their militaristic plans, considering its advantageous geographical location.

The paper underlines that actually the turning of Portugal into a direct participant in Washington's military adventures is an accomplished fact. "The United States has repeatedly used the territory of that country for lifting U.S. servicemen to the Middle East and for transporting military cargoes to the Israeli aggressors."

The progressive Portuguese press points out, Valeriy Volkov says, that a tighter strapping of Portugal to the U.S. military chariot will lead to bigger military spending and, consequently, to a higher cost of living, a greater scope of unemployment and a higher rate of inflation. Washington's claims, the commentator writes, are meeting with serious resistance on the part of the country's democratic forces, which are vigorously protesting against Portugal's continued drawing into the aggressive plans of the U.S. and NATO military and are demanding the closure of foreign bases in its territory.

SHABAYEV COMMENTS ON ISRAELI-LEBANESE TALKS

LD072332 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 7 Jan 83

["Observer: Deaf and Dumb" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS) -- TASS political observer Boris Shabayev writes:

Several rounds of Lebanese-Israeli talks, conducted in the presence of U.S. representative Morris Draper have failed to bring a settlement in Lebanon any closer, not to mention a Near East settlement as a whole. The agenda has not even been agreed upon yet at these talks. This is no surprise because the sides are talking different languages, in both the literal and the figurative sense.

Lebanon, the victim of outrageous, unprovoked aggression considers its main task to be the achievement of the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the country's territory, and this position is just and well-founded from whatever point of view -- the juridical and political, military or moral. It is Israel which remains deaf and dumb to the voice of reason. It is concerned only with reaping as rich a harvest as possible from its aggression and, having imposed a one-sided peace agreement on Lebanon, turning it into an Israeli satellite state.

For the umpteenth time it must be said that the sources of Tel Aviv's impertinent claims should be sought in Washington. Worldwide public attention was again turned to this fact by the Arab League's permanent representative at the United Nations, K. Mahsoud, who said at a New York press conference that it is precisely U.S. actions which are paralyzing efforts, including those of the United Nations, to establish lasting peace in the Near East. Instead of keeping its impetuous ally in order and taking effective measures to suppress Israeli annexation, the United States continually lends it increasing support. Washington's decision to increase aid to Tel Aviv in the coming financial year by a further $700 million cannot be described as anything other than a prize for aggression. In light of countless similar facts, White House statements about allegedly not agreeing with Israel's actions are purely and simply hypocrisy.

This also fully applies to the Lebanese-Israeli talks. While pretending to be seriously concerned about the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity, Washington is by all possible means playing up to the Israeli hawks. By dragging out the talks they are in fact using the occupation of Lebanon to destabilize the situation inside the country, with the help of their secret service they are provoking clashes between various Lebanese communities, and they are continuously increasing their military offensive potential in preparation for new plundering actions against neighboring Arab countries.

The U.S. Administration is playing a dirty anti-Arab game in the Near East, reckoning to implement in the end its far-reaching hegemonistic plans. And it is this which enables even Tel Aviv to remain deaf and dumb to insistent demands to go home from Lebanon.

'ARAFAT STATEMENT ON LEBANON, MIDEAST SITUATION

LD091816 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1500 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Statement by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to "our correspondent"; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] Undoubtedly, the war in Lebanon between the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces and the Zionist enemy forces, which enjoy unlimited support from American imperialism in all military, political, information and economic fields, was a test for the ability of the Palestine revolution and its allies in the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces to withstand the aggressor forces, which have used the most sophisticated American weapons and which have turned Lebanon in general, and Beirut in particular, into a testing ground for its modern weapons as Weinberger himself stated.

Through these sophisticated weapons, which included those banned internationally, they tried to deal a coup de grace to the Palestine revolution and its forces. But I can say with full satisfaction that the target of the plot has failed in Lebanon. The Palestine revolution has emerged more determined and more experienced. Events and battles have proved that any force believing in its mission and objectives can withstand the strongest of armies, exactly as had been the case with the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces, which stood fast for about 3 months with their simple weapons and recorded great heroic epics.

Naturally, there is an extremely important point which I must speak of: No force, however great, could have made the Palestine revolution leave Lebanon. We decided to leave Beirut so as to protect Beirut's children, women and people.

Unfortunately, the agreements we concluded with the American President's envoy, Philip Habib, were not honored. The massacres at Sabra and Shatila have smeared the military honor of the American Army. When we left Beirut, we left the city in the hands of the multinational and UN forces, which later left the city under open American pressure. This was an indivisible part of the plot, a continuation of the plot against not only the Palestinian or Lebanese people. The victims at Sabra and Shatila were innocent children and women, Lebanese and Palestinians alike. They were at the Sabra and Shatila camps where the Lebanese and Palestinian poor assembled.

The massacre is a stigma of disgrace on the heads of the American envoy, the American Administration and American military honor.

Though the object of the massacre was to terrify and frighten the Palestinians and the Lebanese, I say with full confidence that the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces, which sacrificed 72,000 martyrs and wounded during the 3 months of battle, I say that to this figure we must add the figures of our martyrs at Sabra and Shatila, which number about 5,000. We add these to the long list of martyrs so that strikes and the march will continue until victory, God willing.

In the light of all this, we can say that the Palestine revolution has, with all these experiences, emerged stronger and more confident in victory than at any other time in the past.

All attempts the U.S. Administration has supported have failed. We say that the presence of the multinational force in Lebanon, and particularly the American plan to increase the number of American troops in the multinational force, are all attempts to disturb the balance of power in the region of the eastern Mediterranean. This is a matter which concerns not only the Palestinians, the Lebanese or the Arabs. It is part of the world strategic balance of power. Here I find it my duty to alert the world's free and honorable men to this grave point in the eastern part of the Mediterranean.

I must point out that the plot continues. We expect a new military operation in Al-Biqa' and in Tripoli, in which the Israeli forces would enjoy American support. This is because what is taking place is American collusion with the Israeli military operations.

We have succeeded in arranging our ranks in a satisfactory and speedy manner, both organizationally and militarily. True, our forces were scattered in five Arab countries in the past; they are now scattered in nine Arab countries. But this is only part of the suffering of the Palestine revolution, which fights on more than one front and in more than one place.

But I must say that the Palestine revolution, which has succeeded in passing the test in logistics during the 3 months of blockade, is capable of facing up to the new difficulties arising from the dispersal of its forces.

Politically, undoubtedly, our assets have increased and we have proved to the world that we have the determination and capability to continue on our road until victory. Today we are facing a tough political and diplomatic test as well as a grave diplomatic and political battle. We must fight them with the same courage and efficiency with which we fought, and fight, our military battles.

Our military operations continue behind enemy lines. Indeed, they have recently escalated. This, we can say, is an indivisible part of our military and political planning for the coming stage.

Naturally, I cannot say more than that. But I can say to all my brother strugglers, to all my brothers, to free and honorable men throughout the world, that we are still as we have been and will continue our course until the achievement of our objectives and the establishment of our independent state over our national Palestinian soil with Jerusalem as its capital.

There can be no solution nor stability in the Middle East by sidestepping the established national rights of the Palestine people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent state.

We are not asking for anything impossible. We call for international legitimacy and respect for international legitimacy. Will the world and its conscience respond to international legitimacy and will the world respect international legitimacy? This now is the question and the challenge.

ECONOMICS OFFICIAL ON SOVIET EXPERTS IN IRAN

NC081221 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 6 Jan 83

[Part II of report by Iliodor Antolyevich Kulev, first deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, on Soviet-Iranian cooperation in 1982 -- read by announcer]

[Summary] Kulev said: "I want to refer to another topic which, I think, is important. I am speaking about the Soviet experts who are assigned to Iran at the invitation of Iranian organizations" to cooperate in units built within the framework of Soviet-Iranian cooperation.

Kulev added: "Some Iranian leaders have recently been known to (?decrease) the importance and the role of Soviet organizations" and to equate Soviet experts with "agents and hirelings" from capitalist countries. This is a very wrong assumption. One day one of my colleagues recounted an incident which he had witnessed in an African country. An expert from a Western country was asked to come to the said country to repair some equipment. This expert kept his distance from the curious African workers and engineers and did not allow any of them to learn anything new. "Not even the most anti-Soviet Iranians who are acquainted with the way the Soviet experts work in their country can possibly picture something similar happening with Soviet experts." During my various trips to the Esfahan steel mill and other plants in Iran, I met and talked with Iranian workers. All of them lauded the Soviet experts' behavior and goodwill. "Iliodor Kulev pointed out that the fact that during a period of 20 years of economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran which will be marked in 1983, tens of thousands of Iranians have learned numerous skills which were previously unknown in Iran. This proves the point." Kulev added that "rumors that the Soviet Union is allegedly trying to send more experts to Iran and that it is apparently pursuing specific objectives in doing so are outright lies." Kulev said that in view of the development projects that have been planned and are being implemented in the Soviet Union, workers are greatly needed by the Soviet Union itself.

Kulev then went on to refer to figures that show that thousands of Iranian experts are working in units built by Soviet-Iranian cooperation.

He said: "Presently there are 1,600 experts in Iran." This is nearly 3 percent of the total people working in such units. It should also be pointed out that this percentage is diminishing, because those who complete their assignment and teach the Iranian subsequently leave Iran. When the Esfahan steel mill first became operational, the number of Soviet experts working there was 5 percent of the total number of experts employed by the mill. "The present number of Soviet experts among the personnel of Esfahan plants has dropped to 2 percent."

In assessing the results for 1982, Kulev said: "Frankly, these results could have been far better. The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed its readiness to continue to expand its economic and technical cooperation with Iran," and specific proposals have been made. "However, despite all these, it should be said that regretfully there are elements in Iran" who are addicted to the spreading of lies. These people obstinately insist on obstructing cooperation based on equality and mutual benefits while "they remain silent on the positive fruits produced during a 20-year period of economic cooperation."

In conclusion, Kulev said: "What can be done? We do not impose our cooperation on anyone." The entire world knows that the Soviet Union has never been after big gains and privileges anywhere in the world at any time. This is our approach to our cooperation with Iran, too. "We want to regard Iran as a good neighbor. Our country's doors are always open for good and mutually beneficial economic relations, and these doors will always be open."

TANOV VIEWS ADDIS ABABA COPWE CONGRESS

LD081942 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 8 Jan 82

[From the "Africa As We See It" program; Georgiy Tanov commentary]

[Text] In Addis Ababa, the Commission for Organizing the Working People's Party in Ethiopia [COPWE], has held its second congress. Georgiy Tanov comments, and this is what he writes.

The major result of this prominent event in the country's political life is the decision to summon in September of 1984 the third congress of the Commission, which will serve as the constituent congress of the country's vanguard Marxist-Leninist party. The Commission has done much to lay foundations for the future party; however, judging by the materials of the second congress, a lot is to be done yet. It is necessary to expand and to strengthen the party's organizational structure, (?from) the local organizations established at plants, state farms, offices and army units, to regional and central party organizations. The important task is to ensure the party's revolutionary background by enlisting, in the first place, workers and farmers, and to secure broad representation for all ethnic groups in accordance with Lenin's behest that this is a major condition for enhancing the role played by the ruling party in a multinational country.

The second congress of the Commission drew attention to economic and cultural development in Ethiopia and to the improvement of living standards. Its critical analysis of these problems was the most profound since the accomplishment of the Ethiopian revolution 9 years ago. It is noteworthy that the Western media in comments on the congress seized upon the difficulties and shortcomings mentioned by the nation's leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, and by other government officials. However, they said nothing about the concrete steps aimed at overcoming the difficulties and at furthering the nation's progress along the road to socialism proposed by the Ethiopian leadership.

These proposals are to strengthen the state sector in urban and rural areas; to display utmost tact in promoting the cooperative movement; to use more effectively the national revenues and the funds borrowed abroad; to (?rectify) the training of national specialists, and the like.

In resolving these problems, the congress stressed, Ethiopia will continue to lean on support from the socialist community. The congress reaffirmed the country's unwavering anti-imperialist foreign policy; its desire to live in peace and friendship with its neighbors; and its striving to actively further African unity, to promote accord in the Organization of Africa Unity, and to enhance struggle against neocolonialism and racism. The Ethiopian revolution, the congress stressed, is part of the universal revolutionary process and it will continue to strengthen its ties with the socialist world, with communist and workers' parties and with liberation movements. A specific feature of the Ethiopian revolution is that it was led by the democratic minded army circles and intellectuals. As the revolutionary process developed, it began to feel the need in [as heard] a vanguard party guided by Marxist-Leninist principles. The country is now on the threshold of establishing such a party, and the second congress of the Commission for Organizing the Working People's Party served to draw this important political event nearer.

CASTRO CONDEMNS U.S. 'INTERVENTIONIST DESIGNS'

LD070734 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Havana January 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Gennadiy Petrov reports:

The majority of Latin American countries and countries of other continents are interested in peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict. But the main obstacle in the road to peace is the policy of the United States which stubbornly opposes detente in the region. This was said by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba Fidel Castro in a conversation with journalists.

Washington, Fidel Castro said, proceeds from the "idea" of the necessity to destroy the patriotic forces in Central America in a futile effort to arrest the liberation process.

The Cuban leader rejected resolutely the allegations of U.S. propaganda about the Soviet Union's or Cuba's "aid" to the insurgent forces.

The revolutionary forces of Central America determine their policy and tactics independently, Fidel Castro stressed. They came out with very important and honest proposals aimed at peaceful settlement of the conflict. Its ending would be to the benefit of peace, also to the benefit of the American people. This would narrow the scope of conflict situations on the globe.

Fidel Castro condemned resolutely Washington's overt interventionist designs with regard to revolutionary Nicaragua. The Reagan administration, he said, harbours these sinister plans despite the growing opposition of the U.S. Congress and U.S. public.

USSR DEFENSE MINISTER GREETS CUBAN COUNTERPART

PM071457 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jan 83 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Army General Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba

Esteemed comrade minister!

Personally, and on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces, I cordially congratulate you and the personnel of the Revolutionary Armed Forces on the national holiday of the Republic of Cuba -- Liberation Day.

The overthrow of the antipopular, pro-imperialist regime and the creation of the Western Hemisphere's first worker-peasant state were a turning point in the history of Cuba. In a short historical time the Cuban people, under the leadership of their Communist Party headed by Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, have achieved considerable successes in the country's socio-economic, political and cultural development.

Since the moment of the Cuban revolution's victory the Revolutionary Armed Forces have played an important role in defending Cuba's independence against imperialism's encroachments and in ensuring its successful advance along the path of socialist building.

I wish you and all Cuban servicemen great new successes in fulfilling the responsible tasks of further strengthening the country's defense capability set by the Communist Party and the Government of Cuba.

With communist greetings,

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense

CUBA'S SOTO ON SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVES

LD092206 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] Eminent politicians and public figures abroad, and the press, television and radio of all countries continue to comment widely on the results of the Political Consultative Committee meeting and the decision of the CPSU Central Committee politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers to approve completely and in its entirety the work of the Soviet delegation, headed by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the conference.

In an interview with Soviet radio correspondent Vyacheslav Lavrentyev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba Lionel Soto, said:

[Begin Soto recording in Spanish fading into superimposed Russian translation] The new Soviet peace initiatives put forward by Comrade Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have evoked a broad international response. Comrade Andropov has proposed a truly honest zero option, which envisages a substantial reduction in Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe on condition that the United States does not deploy its new missiles on that continent. The Soviet proposal to reach an accord not to be the first to use not only nuclear weapons but conventional ones as well, aroused a strong reaction among international public opinion. The politcial declaration of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty notes that the sources of the Prague Conference of the Political Consultative Committee support and welcome the Soviet Union's proposals for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament.

We Cubans also support and welcome them. The Soviet initiatives are very timely. They meet the hopes of peoples of all countries. [end recording]

U.S. PLANS 'PROVOCATIONS AGAINST NICARAGUA'

LD091022 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2255 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS) -- "The CIA is using Honduras as a base for its biggest secret operation since the war in Vietnam," Vitaliy Korionov writes in PRAVDA, commenting on the military provocations against Nicaragua from Honduran territory. The "operation," according to the established norm in Washington, is veiled in great hypocrisy, the author notes. Officially the administration asserts that the United States of America is in favor of negotiations with Nicaragua on regional problems. In fact all these statements turn out to be no more than a screen.

The observer writes that U.S. military aid to Honduras in 1981 was $5.5 million. In 1982 it was $30.6 million. Training is continuing at 17 bases of mercenary bands on Honduran territory, as well as at U.S. bases in Panama and in the United States of America itself.

The number of these hirelings is set by the U.S. press at from 5 to 12 thousand men, or even more, the survey says. The bandits are trained by hundreds of CIA instructors. Moreover, the Pentagon has its advisers in Honduras. These "instructors" and "advisers" are training murderers who openly proclaim: If we succeed in entering Nicaragua "the whole area from the border to Managua will be strewn with corpses."

"Operations in Honduras," reports THE NEW YORK TIMES, "are run by John Negroponts, the U.S. ambassador to that country, who closely coordinates his actions with the leading figures in intelligence in Washington, particularly CIA Director Casey. The latter has visited Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, to analyze this activity."

"Washington is fond of holding forth about 'international terrorism', pinning the blame for it on... [TASS ellipses] the socialist countries," the observer sums up, "however, it is precisely the actions of the U.S. Administration against Nicaragua that once again confirm irrefutably who really directs international terrorism."

U.S. TO RESUME MILITARY AID TO GUATEMALA

LD080552 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] The Reagan administration has announced the resumption of American military aid to Guatemala where a reactionary dictatorial regime is in power. A representative of the State Department stated that Guatemalan authorities would be able to buy military machinery and spare parts from the United States to the value of $6.3 million.

The decision on the resumption of arms sales to the Guatemalan dictatorship, which is carrying out a policy of terror and repression against the country's democratic forces, is justified by the White House by the fact that General Montt's regime has allegedly achieved progress in the area of observing human rights.

It should be noted that American military aid, halted 5 years ago, continued to be sent to the Guatemalan rulers during those years through unofficial channels.

USTINOV SEES OFF R. CASTRO, CUBAN DELEGATION

LD071642 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] The Cuban state and party delegation, led by Raul Castro Ruz, member of the Politburo and second secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, first vice president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers, and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, left the Soviet Union today.

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and of the Soviet Government, the delegation participated in the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

The delegation was seen off at Moscow airport by Comrade Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Comrades Arkhipov, Rakhmanin and [Nikolayeva] Tereshkova, member of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Simonov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee; and other officials.

Among the send-off party was Anillo Capote, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba in the USSR.

COMPARISON OF GRISHIN SPEECH AT 21 DEC SESSION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 22 December in its Second Edition carries on page 3 an account of the speech delivered by V.V. Grishin at the 21 December Kremlin meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Russian version published in the 21 December Soviet Union Daily Report, pages P 14-P 15, revealing the following variations:

Page P 14, following paragraph 1, PRAVDA adds:

Soviet people are marking this portentous jubilee -- the jubilee of the fraternal friendship of all the nations and ethnic groups of our motherland -- festively and joyfully.

The formation and development of the Soviet Union and the just resolution of the nationalities question in our multinational country are convincing evidence of the great vital force of the idea of socialist internationalism and the outstanding successes of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy. (applause)

Page P 14, paragraph 6, line 6, PRAVDA adds the following after "...of national cadres":

Moscow's role in defending our motherland's socialist gains is great. It was from here that the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government led the Soviet people's heroic struggle against internal counterrevolution and foreign intervention and against fascism in the stern years of the Great Patriotic War. In that struggle Moscow relied on the comprehensive assistance and support of the fraternal republic's peoples. In the difficult... (picking up last line)

Page P 15, following paragraph 1, PRAVDA adds:

The task of transforming Moscow into a model communist city is being resolved persistently. The general plan for the capital's development is being implemented consistently. Major transformations have been carried out in urban construction. New avenues and residential districts have been built.

The urban economy has been virtually reorganized. Moscow is becoming better equipped and more comfortable for people to live in.

On the basis of an increase in the masses' political and labor activeness and of the nationwide socialist competition in honor of the jubilee, Muscovites have accomplished new labor achievements in the struggle to implement the 26th CPSU Congress decision. They are successfully completing the tasks of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

Comrades! The USSR's entire history in the past 60 years has been a living chronicle of the Soviet people's struggle and victories and their achievements in building the new society. These achievements are the result of the unification of the national republics into an integrated union state, which has pooled their efforts in resolving economic and social tasks and in the country's defense and has promoted the prosperity of each republic and the enhancement of the USSR's role in the international arena.

COMPARISON OF ZHIVKOV SPEECH AT 21 DEC SESSION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 22 December in its Second Edition carries on page 3 an unattributed report of the speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, at the 21 December Kremlin meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Sofia Domestic Service Bulgarian version published in the 23 December Soviet Union Daily Report, pages p 13-p 15, revealing the following variations:

Page P 14, paragraph 1, lines 2-3, PRAVDA reads: ...completely share the provisions and the deep and well-founded evaluations and conclusions made with a.... (supplying "the provisions and"; rewording; clearing indistinct word)

Page P 14, paragraph 2, line 3, PRAVDA reads: ...you, we again experience the feeling of pride.... (substituting "experience" for "experienced"; omitting "familiar")

Page P 14, paragraph 3, lines 3-4, PRAVDA reads: ...the years of the revolutionary youth of my generation, the years of the first long-distance [zaochnyy] contacts I had with the Soviet Union.... (clearing indistinct word: substituting "long-distance contacts" for "meetings"; substituting "Union" for "people")

Page P 14, paragraph 5, line 4, PRAVDA reads: ...developed economy, powerful industry for Bulgaria's size and a.... (substituting "a powerful industry for Bulgaria's size" for "industry of great scope")

Same paragraph, lines 6-7, PRAVDA reads: ...are not national nihilists and we know.... (clearing queried word)

Same paragraph, line 12, PRAVDA reads: ...We, however, to not suffer from nationalist conceit and we are.... (substituting "do not suffer from nationalist conceit" for "are not nationalist megalomaniacs")

Page P 15, paragraph 3, line 6, PRAVDA reads: ...is on earth the peace-loving and mighty Soviet Union.... (adding "peace-loving and")

COMPARISON OF JARUZELSKI SPEECH ON 22 DEC

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 December in its Second Edition carries on page 3 an account of the speech delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 22 December Kremlin meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Warsaw Domestic Service Polish version published in the 23 December Soviet Union Daily Report, pages P 15-P 17, revealing the following variations:

Page P 16, paragraph 1, lines 3-5, PRAVDA reads: ...Lenin's brilliant prediction has been fulfilled. His titanic, innovatory organizational activity bore fruit and is being creatively continued under the leadership of the CPSU. There is not... (rewording; omitting applause notation)

Page P 16, paragraph 4, line 4, PRAVDA reads: ...comrades in arms, who in fighting on our soil together... (substituting "fighting on" for "traversing")

Page P 16, paragraph 6, line 7, PRAVDA omits "of maturity."

Page 17, paragraph 2, line 13, PRAVDA reads: ...technology. Your great socialist power...(substituting "Your" for "Our")

Page P 17, following the last paragraph, PRAVDA adds the following passages:

Long live the party of Lenin -- the CPSU! (applause)

Long live the great Soviet people and their mighty state! (applause)

May peace and friendship among the peoples strengthen! (prolonged applause; all rise)

COMPARISON OF CEAUSESCU SPEECH ON 22 DEC

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 December in its Second Edition carries on pages 3-4 an account of the speech delivered by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 22 December Kremlin meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Bucharest Domestic Service Romanian version published in the 23 December Soviet Union Daily Report, pages P 9-P 12, revealing the following variations:

Page P 9, paragraph 1, from "...Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" to "...is this speech:" PRAVDA omits introductory paragraph.

Page P 10, paragraph 7, line 4, PRAVDA omits "in Bucharest."

Page P 11, paragraph 1, line 4, PRAVDA reads: ...the arms race. Matters have reached...(substituting "Matters" for "Mankind")

Page P 11, paragraph 2, line 2, PRAVDA reads: ...proposals that were stressed in Comrade Andropov's... (substituting "stressed" for "reiterated")

Page P 11, paragraph 3, line 1, PRAVDA reads: ...we believe that the most responsible action should... (adding "the most")

Same paragraph, last line, PRAVDA reads: ...freedom, independence, free existence and peace... (adding "free")

GROMYKO KOMMUNIST ARTICLE REVIEWS SOVIET POLICY

WA0716[illegible] Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English No 24, 30 Dec 82 p 1

["For the Sake of Peace on Earth" by Andrey Gromyko, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, translated "in full" from Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, 1982]

[Text] Our people, all the forces of peace and progress are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The establishment of the USSR was a historic event in the life of the Soviet people. It was also an event of immense international significance, a major milestone in the struggle of the masses of working people for revolutionary renovation of the world. The entire history of the USSR convincingly shows what peaks of true equality, monolithic cohesion, and fraternal friendship can be reached by relations among the peoples, based on the principle of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The fraternal union of the equal socialist republics, which emerged six decades ago -- on December 30, 1922, as a result of the expression of the will of our country's peoples, even more strengthened the international positions of the Soviet state created by the Great October Revolution, and enhanced its authority on the world scene. The necessity for this stable state union was dictated by the objective course of social development, by the tasks of building a new society.

The path traversed by the Soviet state is marked by the outstanding accomplishments in all the directions of socialist and communist construction. There is in this also a great service of the Soviet foreign policy the guidelines and fundamental principles of which were evolved and laid into the foundation of the Soviet state's international activity by V.I. Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution.

The Soviet foreign policy has absorbed the best democratic traditions which shaped up during the long history in relations among the peoples, in relationships among states. At the same time, the character of this policy logically ensues from the very essence of the socialist system which, as it has been convincingly confirmed by life, gives birth to altogether new international relations free of discrimination, domination and subordination that characterise the preceding social and economic structures.

The path which the Soviet Union has traversed over the past sixty years was not simple and smooth. The CPSU and the Soviet state pursue their political line in a complicated international situation. But the USSR has been consistently marching forward, following the charted course and being sure that it has made a correct choice.

I

The process of the shaping of the Soviet foreign policy was determined by the historical circumstances of its emergence on the boundary of two epochs -- mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. With the emergence of a new social system as a result of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, no tendencies of the world's development could any longer remain uninfluenced by this mighty revolutionary-transforming factor. Since that time the ideas and practice of socialism have influenced every country or group of countries, and every ideological-political trend. "...From the very beginning of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us". (V.I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 28, p. 151). The task of ensuring necessary international conditions for consolidation of the revolutionary gains and for establishment of normal, friendly relations with other countries and peoples acquired paramount importance.

On October 26 (November 8), 1917, the 2nd All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted the Decree on Peace which was the first foreign-policy act of the Soviet state. In this Decree the Soviet government called upon all the peoples and governments of belligerent countries to put an end to the world war, and to conclude a just, democratic peace. In the Decree on Peace the Soviet state declared proletarian internationalism in relations with the peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism, and peaceful coexistence in relations with the capitalist states to be the principles of its foreign policy. Operating simultaneously and in interconnection, these principles constantly determine the essence of the international line of the CPSU and of the Soviet state. The Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of Soviet power, and its first powerful impulses towards peace found a broad-based support of the masses of working people in many countries.

The reaction of the imperialist circles was altogether different. It was the result of the class instinct, of the desire to hamper the revolutionary process, and of the narrow-mindedness in the understanding of the objective laws of historical development. The Soviet state displayed its preparedness to start negotiations with the capitalist states and to conclude equal treaties, but it encountered a wall of alienation and hostile conspiracies. The imperialist powers launched an armed intervention against it. History has shown that this course of imperialism was its first major strategic error in relations with the Soviet state.

The peoples of the Soviet state withstood with honour the ordeals forced upon them by the imperialists, having rebuffed the onslaught of the interventionists and of the forces of internal counter-revolution. Our state strengthened its international positions consistently, step by step, working for and achieving establishment of new, truly equal relations with foreign states. The relations of Soviet Russia with the countries of the East developed successfully. Equal treaties with our southern neighbours -- Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey -- were concluded in 1921. November 1921 saw the signing of an agreement with Mongolia, an agreement which laid a stable foundation of friendship between the peoples of the two countries. Peace treaties were also concluded with Finland (1920) and Poland (1921). A treaty with Germany was signed in Rapallo, Italy, in April 1922, and it dealt a serious blow at the imperialist policy of isolating Soviet Russia.

In 1922 the Soviet state took part in its first international conference which was held in Genoa. Lenin formulated our political platform at that conference with utmost clarity: ensuring stable peace and economic cooperation among the peoples, and establishing trade relations between the Soviet state and the capitalist countries. It is also deeply symbolic that at the Genoa conference our country raised in practice for the first ever time the question of a universal arms reduction.

After the formation of the USSR -- the world's first single, federal, multinational state of workers and peasants, the Party and the government launched wide activity in the international arena on many planes. The growth of our country's international prestige resulted in the break through the diplomatic blockade, when the bourgeois states had to officially recognise the Soviet Union. In 1924-1925, thirteen states, among them Britain, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden, Austria, China, Japan and Mexico, established diplomatic relations with the USSR. During that period the Soviet Union concluded a number of important trade treaties with the capitalist countries. In this way a ramified structure of the USSR's political and economic relations with the outer world began to take shape.

Since the late 1920s the development of the Soviet state and the shaping of its international relations took place in the context of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. In the early 1930s, the sharp heightening of imperialist antagonisms led to the emergence of dangerous hotbeds of war first in Asia, where the Japanese militarists launched an aggression against China, and then in the heart of Europe as a result of the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The Soviet Union did all possible to curb the aggressors. Our country gave active assistance to the peoples of China, Spain and other countries which became victims of the foreign intervention. A befitting rebuff was given to the Japanese militarists in the Lake Khasan area and on the Khalkhin Gol river.

A broad programme of peace, based on the concept of its collective defence, was the proposals advanced by the USSR in those years for establishing an effective system of collective security in Europe and concluding a regional Pacific pact. Our country also bent its efforts toward signing individual mutual help agreements with capitalist states for joint rebuff to the most dangerous aggressor -- Hitler Germany.

But the obstructionist policy of these states prevented the erection of a firm shield from the impending Nazi threat at that time. The Western countries' ruling circles struck a deal with Hitler at Munich in the hope that they would channel fascist aggression eastward, against the Soviet Union. The peoples of Britain, France and other West European states had to pay a heavy price for that short-sighted policy. Events took a turn in which those who had helped to restore the positions of German monopoly capital and revive militarism in Germany and incited the Hitlerite aggressors against the USSR, were themselves subjected to their attack in the first place.

As for the general plan to let the German Nazis destroy the Soviet Union, it was another major strategic error of the imperialist forces in the evaluation of the strength and viability of the socialist system and the might of the Soviet state.

Life eventually forced the ruling circles of the Western powers to cooperate with the USSR. Within the anti-fascist coalition, our country arranged broad political, military and other cooperation with the other members of the coalition to ensure victory over the common enemy and prepare a postwar peaceful settlement.

The coalition of states and peoples that won victory in the Second World War over the bloc of aggressive powers -- Germany, Japan and their allies -- was a new event in international relations. In the great battle against fascism, which tried to impose an order of the vandals and hangmen on the world, the peoples of countries with differing social systems fought shoulder to shoulder. The cooperation of the participants of this alliance was quite logical and had an enormous progressive significance for all mankind.

The victory over Hitler Germany and militarist Japan did not come the easy way. But the Soviet people, who made a decisive contribution to this victory, successfully defended their socialist Homeland and fulfilled their international duty. The defeat of Nazi Germany and its satellites had a tremendous impact on the further course of world events. The peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic and the peoples of China, Vietnam and North Korea received an opportunity to choose the socialist road of development. From now on the capitalist encirclement was broken once and for all. A community of socialist states appeared on the international scene. The world socialist system came into being.

The positions of progressive, democratic and peaceloving forces grew stronger throughout the world; the prestige and political influence of communist parties increased everywhere. The workers' movement in the countries of capitalism achieved considerable successes.

An active struggle of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries for their liberation was launched. The period of the disintegration of colonial empires set in, and young sovereign states of Africa, Asia and Latin America began to appear on their ruins. Most of these states became the allies of the socialist countries in the struggle for peace, freedom and national independence.

"In the course of the 20th century," stressed L.I. Brezhnev, "our country twice stood at the origins of major changes in the face of the world.

"Such was the case in 1917 when the victory of the October Revolution heralded mankind's entry into a new historical epoch. Such was the case in 1945 when the defeat of fascism, the decisive part in which was played by the Soviet Union, raised a powerful wave of social and political changes that swept across the planet and led to a strengthening of peace forces in the world."

In the postwar years objective conditions arose for broader and more stable cooperation among states, regardless of the distinctions in their social systems, in the name of safeguarding durable peace. They reflected the strong desire of the peoples of the world to prevent a repetition of the tragedy that mankind had gone through as a result of the aggression unleashed by German fascism and militarist Japan. However through the fault of the forces of imperialism, above all US, these conditions were not taken advantage of. Moreover, the Cold War started by the imperialist circles of the USA, accompanied by the arms race, especially in terms of nuclear arms, and local conflicts now in one, now in another area of the world, led to a grave complication of international relations.

Everything indicated that imperialist circles had not drawn the proper conclusions from the lessons of history. Their attempts to place obstacles in the way of the development and consolidation of the world socialist system, of the growth of the national-liberation and revolutionary movements were their another major strategic error in assessing the world alignment of forces and in approaching the formation of their relations with our country, its allies and friends.

In face of the imperialist powers' fomenting of international tension, whipping up of the arms race and creation of the aggressive NATO bloc and other military alliances under the aegis of these powers, the Soviet Union and other socialist states were compelled to take the necessary steps to strengthen their defence capability. At the same time, the USSR even in the period of the Cold War consistently advocated a healthier international climate and demanded a dismantling of military bases on foreign territories that were created primarily by the United States in dozens of countries and were directed against the Soviet Union.

In the 1950s and the 1960s our country continued its indefatigable campaign to promote peace and international cooperation, counter the imperialist policy of suppressing the sovereignty of nations, curb the arms race and bring about disarmament and, above all, ensure the prohibition of nuclear weapons. These efforts brought about a number of significant achievements. In 1963 there was concluded the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. In 1968, prepared on the USSR's initiative, another important international document, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, was signed. Representatives of over 100 states affixed their signatures to both these treaties.

Great political response to the world was evoked by the Soviet proposal submitted to the UN in 1960 for granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples; this initiative marked an important contribution to the struggle for national and social liberation. Drawn up in the spirit of Soviet proposals and solemnly adopted by the UN, the declaration on this question gave a powerful impetus to the process of decolonisation. A considerable number of new independent states appeared. This was a historic achievement in the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for freedom and national sovereignty. The great service of our socialist state, which raised in the UN as an urgent item the question of putting an end to the disgraceful colonial system, will never fade in history.

It took the ruling circles of the Western powers a lot of time to realize that their attempts to retard the onward march of the USSR and the socialist world as a whole did not produce the desired results. They came ever more convinced that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, overcoming the obstacles and difficulties on their road, continued to confidently move ahead, building up their economic potential, strengthening their defensive might and improving their international ties in many fields.

II

By the beginning of the 1970s the change in the international situation in favour of the forces of peace, democracy, national and social progress became obvious.

The more far-sighted and realistically minded bourgeois statesmen and political leaders, who could not ignore this process, were coming to better realize that there was no, nor could there by any reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence with the socialist states.

Under the circumstances, the policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation which had been consistently pursued by the Soviet Union since Lenin's times, was meeting vigorous support of the public at large and a growing understanding in the leading circles of the capitalist countries.

This largely promoted the normalization of relations between the USSR and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and a number of capitalist states, on the other, in the 1970s, and eventually facilitated a turn from the Cold War to the development of detente and the consolidation of the foundations of universal peace. "International detente has become possible," noted Leonid Brezhnev, "because a new alignment of forces took shape in international arena. The leaders of the bourgeois world can no longer seriously hope to solve the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism by force of arms."

Taking into account all factors in the development of the international situation, the CPSU made a scientifically sound conclusion about the emergence of objective opportunities for a radical improvement in the world's political climate, and for the remodelling of the entire system of state-to-state relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Being confident that it was possible to build a solid edifice of peace, and being profoundly interested in this, our country advanced a broad complex of measures covering all spheres of the struggle for peace, freedom and independence of nations. Taken in their totality, these measures were set forth in the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU (1971). It contained concrete and realistic proposals on the solution of the most pressing problems pertaining to the task of strengthening peace and developing peaceful cooperation among states.

A serious positive shift took place in Soviet-American relations which began to be filled with new content. The two sides held summits and many other meetings and talks primarily concerning the problems of nuclear-missile weapons, and their limitations. A document on the foundations of mutual relations between the USSR and the USA was signed in May 1972. It sealed the commitment of the sides to proceed from the common conviction that in the nuclear age there was no other foundation for maintaining bilateral relations than peaceful coexistence. The sides concluded a Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (1972), and an interim agreement on certain measures in the field of limiting strategic offensive weapons -- SALT-1 (1972), an Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War (1973) and a number of other agreements covering various spheres of bilateral cooperation.

Positive shifts took place in Europe under the impact of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. There appeared a series of treaties which brought inter-state relations in Europe in line with the realities of its post-war development. Relations between the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the GDR, on the one hand, and West Germany, on the other, were normalized on the basis of corresponding treaties, and a quadripartite agreement on West Berlin was signed. The German Democratic Republic received broad international recognition. The Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe began.

The Conference on European Security and Cooperation became an event of exceptional importance. It reaffirmed the inviolability of post-war frontiers and elaborated a code of principles governing the interrelations of 35 participating states, and mapped out the prospects of peaceful long-term cooperation among them.

An end to imperialist aggression in Indochina was put in the same period as well. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea managed to score major success in their national-liberation struggle. The revolution triumphed in Ethiopia. The peoples of

Angola, Mozambique and a number of other countries gained independence as a result of the collapse of the last, Portuguese colonial empire.

The Programme of Further Struggle For Peace and International Cooperation, for Freedom and Independence of Nations (1976), adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress became an organic continuation and development of the Peace Programme. The Congress put at the top of the list of foreign policy priorities the tasks of bridling the arms race and effecting a transition to real disarmament, asserting the principle of the non-use of force in the practice of international relations, and concentrating the efforts of peace-loving states on the elimination of the hotbeds of war in different regions of the globe.

The tackling of these tasks encountered fierce resistance on the part of the more aggressive imperialist quarters. The confrontation between the two opposing courses in world politics became markedly exacerbated by the end of the 1970s. In these conditions, the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries continued to further the cause of detente, displaying the necessary vigilance and giving a befitting rebuff to the intrigues of aggressive forces.

International relations of this period are marked by several positive actions of considerable importance. This applies to the conclusion of the Soviet-French Agreement on the Prevention of an Accidental or Unsanctioned Use of Nuclear Weapons (1976), the signing of the Soviet-British Agreement on the Prevention of Accidental Nuclear War (1977), the coming into force of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and Their Destruction (1975), and the conclusion of the International Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (1977).

Special mention should be made of the signing in 1979 of the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive armaments (SALT-2) which would become an effective obstacle in the way of further accumulation of the most destructive and costly types of weapons. One may say that the whole world was looking forward to its entry into force. Washington, however, chose another road -- that of frustrating its ratification.

The changes in the world arena which took place in the 1970s, especially in their former half, reaffirmed that differences in the social system, in ideology or world outlook are not an insurmountable obstacle for states to maintain normal, constructive ties which facilitate the positive development of the world situation in common interests. Detente is a unique phenomenon in international relations. It expresses the fundamental aspirations of the peoples in the Soviet Union and all other states, and reflects their will for peace. So, all countries should display concern and utmost responsibility for detente, and show their understanding of the fact that the detente process serves to guarantee man's overriding right -- the right to live.

This is exactly what the Soviet Union does, overcoming in its work for detente and peaceful coexistence the obstacles of bias, mistrust and hostility, erected by certain forces in the West. The Soviet Union is doing all it can to contribute by practical action to the curbing of the arms race, and the strengthening of security on the basis of promoting mutual understanding and development of state-to-state peaceful cooperation.

III

The Leninist strategy of peace, upheld by our Party and the State, has had to be implemented in the context of a strained international situation in the early 1980s. This situation has been aggravated, first and foremost, by the action of the most aggressive forces of imperialism, above all, of the US which have launched an attempt at opposing the policy of detente and the achievements in strengthening the positions of socialism, in advancing the national liberation movement and in promoting peace by its own policy of stepping up military preparations, interfering in the internal affairs of other peoples, and whipping up international tensions.

The imperialist forces, bent on upsetting the present military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and between the US and the USSR, to their own advantage, have launched an unprecedented arms buildup. They have been putting forward, one after another, their aggressive doctrines for the prosecution of nuclear wars -- quick and protracted, limited and general. Besides, they have declared vast areas of the world to be a "sphere of the vital interests" of the US.

Imperial ambitions show themselves up through the increasingly gross intervention in the affairs of other nations and peoples, the fanning of the hotbeds of tension and conflicts, and proliferating acts of self-will in international affairs. This policy has been particularly manifest in the Middle East where it means encouraging and directly backing Israel's aggression against Arab countries and peoples, making possible such acts as Tel Aviv's recent criminal action in Lebanon and genocide against the Palestinians.

In the prevailing circumstances, the Soviet Union continues to make unflagging efforts and to use all of its political and moral potential to forestall the further deterioration of the international situation and preserve peace on Earth. Realistic ways towards lessening the threat of war, promoting detente and developing broad cooperation of nations with differing social systems have been indicated by the Peace Programme for the 1980s, adopted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. It has been summed up in the CPSU Central Committee's Report to the Congress as follows: "To safeguard peace -- no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world." This document is a direct follow-up to, and a creative elaboration of the foreign policy programmes of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU as applied to the most burning and the most pressing problems of international affairs today. The Peace Programme for the 1980s, supplemented since the Congress with new initiatives, is a wide range of interconnected constructive measures covering both nuclear and conventional types of weapons and relating to the situation in Europe, in the Middle East and in the Far East. These are political and military measures. All of these proposals have one goal and one common ambition of ours that unites them -- to do everything possible to save the nations from the threat of nuclear war.

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that there are potent forces in action to safeguard peace, this greatest value of common interest to humanity. The struggle for the noble ideals of peace today is a joint effort of the countries of the socialist community, the international Communist, working-class and national liberation movement.

The high tide of anti-war movement is mounting everywhere today. This movement, represented both by large-scale spontaneous action by the mass of the people and conscious activities of various political parties and organizations, has become so tangible a factor and assumed so wide a scale as to be producing a telling effect in those capitals where the official quarters are still dominated by militarist trends and obsessed with the policy from "a position of strength".

The Soviet Union also considers that the potential of detente is far from being used up. Detente retains its power of attraction and it is necessary for this process to continue. Many of the most far-sighted spokesmen of political quarters of Western countries have also been speaking out for it to be kept up.

The Soviet Union, unshakably convinced of the historical justice of the forces of peace and certain of their selfless readiness to do everything to bar the way to warlike ventures, is pressing for the implementation of the Peace Programme for 1980s which has been winning the understanding and support of all the peace-seeking nations and all anti-war forces.

Acting as they do as the leading factor in the battle to keep the peace, the countries of the socialist community have been contributing towards resolving a problem of world-wide importance, indeed. At the same time, they are doing everything within their power to bring about an indispensable external environment for successful construction of the new type of society. The countries of the socialist community link their present and future up with peaceful development.

Close cooperation of the sister nations in the furtherance of the cause of peace and socialism is a clear manifestation of the life-asserting force of the new type of relationship among nations -- sovereign and equal, welded together by the community of their basic interests and priorities, their Marxist-Leninist ideology, and united by the bond of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance and their all-round cooperation.

The countries forming the socialist community keep drawing closer together. The 26th Congress of the CPSU has declared the continued deepening of socialist integration under long-term goal-oriented programmes to be a top priority. They are to help resolve the most urgent and vitally important problems of their national economies. These programmes are now being translated into practice. The object is to make the next two five year plans a period of intensive industrial as well as scientific and technological cooperation of the socialist countries. Another one is to complement plan coordination with that of their economic policies in general. Steady headway is being made in improving bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the ideological, scientific and cultural areas.

"Experience indicates", said the CPSU Central Committee in its Resolution on the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," that loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and close cooperation of the fraternal parties in every area make it possible to combine properly the common and national interests of the socialist states, successfully resolve the contradictions and difficulties arising in the course of this development, and for every nation and for the entire socialist community to advance confidently. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are dependably serving this purpose".

The early 1980s have seen an unprecedented hostile campaign organised by certain Western quarters against the socialist countries. There has been a lot of provocative sabre-rattling and attempts at exercising political pressure as well as subservice acts and ideological subversion. Washington is not giving up its plans to launch what amounts, in point of fact, to a trade and economic war against the socialist community, although it has come to grief more than once in this enterprise.

The USSR and other socialist countries have no intention of fencing themselves off from capitalist states. But they cannot, naturally, fail to draw appropriate conclusions for themselves in the fact of all manner of manoeuvrings of those who resort to a policy of sanctions and boycott and to attempts at interfering in internal affairs.

The course of life has more than once proved the total futility of the hopes to make the socialist states depart from the principles of their peace-building foreign policy, complicate the solution of the economic and social problems they have before them, and shatter the foundations of their social system. Any attempt at interfering in the affairs of these countries, setting them apart, or pushing them off their peace course are as foredoomed as they have always been. There are all indications to show that the imperialist forces resorting to such stratagems in their policies are making yet another blunder in their relations with the socialist countries.

Now about our relations with such a socialist country, as the People's Republic of China. The improvement of these relations could promote a safer peace in Asia and elsewhere. The Soviet Union is prepared to do and is doing everything for these relations to develop favourably and return to normalcy. And we see that of late the PRC has positively responded to this approach of ours.

As before, the strategy of Soviet foreign policy, underlying the Peace Programme for the '80s, remains curbing the arms race, promoting disarmament, and averting the danger of a new war war.

The Soviet Union has declared more than once that there is no type of weapons which it would not be prepared to limit or reduce on a reciprocal basis. And if the stockpiling of weapons continues and is even intensified, if the rates of the arms race exceed the curbs clamped on them by the relevant accords, and the existing agreements in this field are called in question, this is a direct result of the militaristic course of the NATO bloc.

The USSR confirms by deeds its consistent policy of principle in this direction. This country's unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is an action of historic importance. Indeed, this means facilitating a turn from the dangers of the nuclear age to a safer and more lasting peace and hindering the intrigues of those who are trying "to accustom" mankind to the idea of a nuclear conflict being admissible and even acceptable.

We call on all nuclear powers, which have not yet done this, to assume such a commitment. This would help considerably to lessen the danger of nuclear war breaking out.

The Soviet Union stands for all states to undertake not to use force or threat of force in relations between them in general. To set the question on a practical footing, in 1976 this country proposed concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. The relevant draft treaty was submitted for consideration of the United Nations. The great majority of the UN member-states met this initiative with understanding and approval. We intend to work further for its implementation.

At the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, the Soviet Union put forward a comprehensive programme of measures aimed at curbing the arms race. This programme generalises both the positions of principle of this country and its main specific proposals. They cover all major aspects of limiting the arms race and promoting disarmament, from nuclear and chemical weapons to conventional arms and the naval activities of states. This programme was favourably received by the overwhelming majority of the UN member-states.

The Soviet Union exerted great efforts to start talks with the USA on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. Soviet and American representatives currently meet at the negotiating table in Geneva. This is a positive fact. However, we cannot fail to note that our partners do not yet show the desire to come to terms.

The USA's approach betrays its obvious desire to win concessions from the Soviet Union to the deteriment of the latter's security interests. One cannot otherwise assess the fact that out of the strategic arsenals of the USSR and of the USA Washington snatches out, arbitrarily, only the ground-based missiles, which make the backbone of this country's strategic potential, and proposes cutting them down. As for the hardware in which the USA shows preponderance -- missiles installed on submarines, strategic bombers, and cruise missiles -- America would like to leave them outside the negotiations. With things standing as they are, it is difficult, of course, to count on progress in the negotiations.

The Soviet-US negotiations to limit nuclear arms in Europe are also under way in Geneva. However, here too, the United States displays a lopsided approach. It is suggested that the Soviet Union scrap its ground-based missiles, including those we have commanded for over 20 years. As for NATO's medium-range nuclear potential, America believes that it should be preserved and even increased. The bias and illogicality of such a stand are obvious and the Soviet Union cannot, naturally, agree with it. At these negotiations the Soviet Union makes proposals leading to mutually acceptable accords.

The Soviet Union backs its sincere desire to limit nuclear arms in Europe and to continue the relevant negotiations also by appropriate unilateral measures. We have stopped the further deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the country. More than that, the USSR is cutting down some of these weapons and does not install east of the Urals more medium-range missiles capable of reaching Western Europe.

On the whole, the Soviet-US negotiations in Geneva proceed with difficulty because of the obstacles regularly created by Washington's position. Clearly feigned are attempts to present the situation at the negotiations in rosy colour. Judging by everything, such "optimism" is designed to confuse world public opinion, calm down the allies concerned over the prospects of the above negotiations, and gain time to implement militaristic plans.

The Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe continue to mark time. At these negotiations too, the difficulty is in the unwillingness of our Western partners to come to terms on the basis of justice and equality.

We firmly believe that the main principle of the negotiations to limit the arms race and promote disarmament should be one of equality and equal security, from which the Soviet Union shall not depart.

If our partners accepted this basic principle, the negotiations would proceed confidently. However, if the negotiations were used to camouflage further military beefing up, this would further complicate the situation. Foul play should have no place here. Neither side should seek advantage to the detriment of the security of its opposite number. This should make the real logic of the talks on very serious problems affecting the destinies of world peace.

I also want to make it clear that this country, proceeding from the existing military equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, between the USA and the Soviet Union, is not after military preponderance either in Europe or on a global scale. However, we shall not recognise the right of others to military supremacy either. It is clear, at the same time, that it is necessary to lower the high level of today's equilibrium. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible for this, although understandably, not everything depends on us.

If the Madrid meeting of the states which participated in the all-European countries decided to call a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe, this would be of great importance for strengthening security in the continent. Such a decision would become a new and powerful impetus to the development of the all-European process started by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Union resolutely stands for the progress of this process; for these purposes, this country is doing everything it can for the successful completion of the Madrid meeting.

Great importance would also attach to the implementation of the latest initiative of the countries of the socialist community, their joint proposal to the effect that the leading bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty should make statements about not spreading the sphere of action of these alliances to Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At the 37th session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union came out with a major initiative by proposing to put on its agenda the question about the immediate cessation and banning of the tests of nuclear weapons. The basic provisions of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests were also submitted for the consideration of the Assembly. This document records all the positive that has been achieved in the course of many years of discussing a ban on nuclear weapons tests, and reflects the additional considerations of many states, particularly as regards control over the observance of the future treaty. The full ending of nuclear weapons tests would become a serious obstacle for the development of new types and systems of nuclear weaponry and for the emergence of new nuclear states.

To stop another channel of nuclear danger, the USSR also proposes putting the question of multiplying efforts to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and to ensure a safe development of nuclear energy on the agenda of the 37th session of the UN General Assembly. We suggested that the General Assembly should declare the destruction of peaceful nuclear projects even by means of conventional weapons tantamount to an attack with the use of nuclear weapons, i.e., that it should identify it with the actions which the United Nations has qualified as the gravest crime against mankind.

It was stressed in the Main Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress that in the recent years military conflicts broke out now in one, now in another region of the world, not infrequently threatening to overgrow into a big fire; that extinguishing them was anything but easy; and that it was necessary to prevent the emergence of seats of such conflicts. Promoting the solution of conflict situations makes a major direction of our policy. In tackling this task, the USSR acts under the Peace Programme for the '80s and complements it with new initiatives.

The Soviet Union is far from demonstrating a simplistic and dogmatic approach to conflict situations. However, it has become axiomatic that whenever a serious hotbed of tension appears in one or another region, it is traced to the imperialist ways of those who disregard the legitimate interests of other countries and peoples and try to interfere in their domestic affairs and enforce their will on them. This policy is conducted by the US ruling quarters, which are deliberately steering towards the aggravation of the situation in a number of regions of the world. A "rapid deployment force", to discharge obviously policeman's functions, has been formed. As a result, dangerous conflict situations and "hot points" arise in various parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East, the South Atlantic, Central America and the Caribbean.

Israel's intervention in Lebanon serves as an example of the tragic consequences which the imperialist policy of retaining its positions by force may have. There is no denying the fact that Israel risked the aggression because it has a "strategic consensus" with the United States. Although in Lebanon Israel and its patrons suffered a serious political and moral defeat, the breeding ground of tension they created there continues to pose a great threat. The situation is fraught with new conflicts.

The statements made by the US administration on the Middle East settlement leave no doubt about Washington's continued opposition to an independent Palestinian state. Flouting the UN resolutions, the United States ignores the Palestine Liberation Organisation as an indispensable participant in the settlement process, studiously omits any mention of the problem of Israel's pullout from all occupied Arab territories and is preoccupied with the security of only one Middle East state, Israel, to the exclusion of the other states and peoples of the region. There is no doubt either that the United States is seeking to play a decisive role in Middle East affairs.

The experience of the past few years serves to show that the US policy predicated upon the Camp David separate deal has not brought about and could not bring about a settlement in the Middle East. Moreover, it further complicated the situation in the region. Now Washington is trying once again to prevent a genuine settlement of the Middle East problem.

The Soviet Union is firmly at one with the Arab peoples. Israel must get out of Lebanon and return to the Arabs all Arab lands it seized. The principles of the Middle East settlement formulated by the Soviet Union are of special importance in the current situation. These include: the strict observance of the principle of inadmissibility of the seizure of foreign lands by aggression; the implementation of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to create an independent state on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip; the return to the Arabs of the eastern sector of Jerusalem; ensuring the right of all the countries of the Middle East to safe and independent existence and development, the ending of the state of war and the establishment of peace between the Arab states and Israel: international guarantees of the settlement. This could be achieved by the collective efforts of all the sides concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. An international conference is the best way of working out decisions leading to a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Soviet position on the Middle East settlement is consistent with the view expressed recently at the Arab summit meeting at Fez.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq is also fraught with grave consequences. The Soviet Union is convinced that the bloody war which has been going on for more than two years is senseless from the point of view of the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries. It only plays into the hands of the imperialist forces.

The situation around Afghanistan, that is, understandably, the external aspects of the problem, also remains unsettled. The reasons for this are clear: the enemies of the Afghan people keep trying to prevent the building of a new, truly democratic life in that country, interfering in its internal affairs and conducting armed intervention from the outside against Afghanistan, a sovereign non-aligned state. A realistic opportunity to ensure a political settlement on Afghanistan is provided by the well-known proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union fully supports them. The main condition for a full settlement is the cessation of the armed intervention from the outside. The Soviet Union looks favourably on the contacts established in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan which are now exchanging views on the problem.

The Soviet Union is in favour of the plan to make South-East Asia a zone of peace and stability. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have chosen their way of social development and the forces that are trying to prevent them from deciding their destiny themselves are running against the spirit of the time and the objective laws of history. The proposals made by the three countries of Indochina to promote dialogue and improve their relations with the neighbouring countries open up new opportunities for bringing about substantial changes for the better in the situation in South-East Asia.

The strengthening of international security in Asia is facilitated by the peaceloving foreign policy pursued by India, a great Asian country. We are bound with that country by the bonds of close friendship and fruitful co-operation and the common cause of safeguarding peace and freedom of the peoples.

In the south of Africa, with the connivance of the United States and other Western powers, the racist regime of South Africa is waging an undeclared war against Angola and some other states. It ignores the UN decisions on granting independence to Namibia. A breeding ground of tension remains in that region as a result. The aggressive actions against the newly-independent countries in the south of Africa must be halted. The people of Namibia must be given the right to free existence in an independent state of their own.

The Soviet Union believes that urgent international problems can and must be solved peacefully at the negotiating table. The Soviet Union is prepared to co-operate, on a constructive and reciprocal basis, with all countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle for peace, the improvement of the situation and the development of normal and good relations between states.

The same applies to the Soviet policy vis-a-vis the United States. We are not to blame for the current tension in relations with the United States. The Soviet Union continues to believe that our relations with the United States can be normalised and bettered on the basis of peaceful co-existence, provided, of course, Washington is prepared to play the ball. We hope that common sense will eventually prevail in Washington.

The Soviet Union's activities in the international arena have always been in the focus of attention of the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Politbureau of the Central Committee which formulate and direct the Soviet foreign policy on the basis of an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, taking into account the alignment of forces in the world and the laws and factors that determine the main trends and prospects of the world's development. This ensures the effectiveness and continuity in the implementation of the tasks that face the Party and the country in international affairs.

"Soviet foreign policy has been and continues to be determined by the decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of our party," Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said in his address at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU. "The invariable aims of our foreign policy are to ensure a lasting peace and to defend the right of the peoples to independence and social progress. In the struggle for these aims the leadership of the party and the state will be acting consistently and thoughtfully in line with its principles." That statement was made with a full sense of responsibility and at the most authoritative level.

The Leninist line of Soviet foreign policy is unanimously approved and supported by all Soviet communists and the Soviet people as a whole.

The recent celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the USSR once again demonstrated the unity of the Soviet people. They also showed that all Soviet citizens, regardless of their nationality or occupation, hold dear the interests of their country and its future.

The Soviet Union celebrated its anniversary by new achievements in all sectors of communist construction. The Party Leninist nationalities policy, the turning in a short space of time of Russia's erstwhile backward provinces into the flowering socialist republics and the establishment of equitable relations between the Soviet nations, both big and small, have become an inspiring example in the struggle of the peoples for national independence and their sovereign right to choose their social and political system themselves.

Sixty years after its founding the Soviet Union appears to the world as a peaceloving socialist state, an integral part of the community of the socialist nations and a great world power without which no major international problem can be solved.

In celebrating this anniversary the peaceloving Soviet people justly takes pride in the great authority their country commands in the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of peace among nations. Relying on its economic and defence potential, the Soviet Union will continue to do everything to ensure effective defence for the work and peaceful life of Soviet people and our friends in the socialist countries.

"In the complicated international situation when the forces of imperialism are trying to push the peoples onto the road of hostility and military confrontation, the party and the state will firmly uphold the vital interests of our homeland and maintain great vigilance and readiness to give a crushing rebuff to any attempt at aggression," Yuri Andropov said. "They will redouble their efforts in the struggle for the security of the peoples and strengthen co-operation with all the peace forces of the world. We are always ready for honest, equal and mutually beneficial co-operation with any state that is willing to co-operate."

The peoples fighting against the threat of nuclear war and all the champions of peace and socialism are looking to our country with confidence and hope. Much credit for the authority which the Soviet Union commands today goes to its peaceful foreign policy.

PROCURATOR GENERAL ADMITS LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEM

LD090740 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] Comrade Rekunkov, procurator general of the USSR, writes in PRAVDA about the responsibility for maintenance of public order which rests with the procurator's office, the organs of the militia, justice and the courts. They are called on to defend legality and the interests of the state and citizens from any encroachments.

There is more and more development in the coordination of the actions of law enforcement organs. Their concerted efforts and interaction with other state and public institutes produces positive results.

The law enforcement organs enjoy deserved respect and prestige, but there are still serious shortcomings in their activity, Comrade Rekunkov points out. Preventative work is not infrequently conducted in isolation from life, from concrete problems which concern the populace. The forces of the state organs are not always concentrated on ensuring safe order in public places, on the streets, restraining rowdies, in apartment house courtyards.

The Soviet people, it was stressed at the 26th congress of the party, are entitled to demand that the work of the law enforcing organs be of maximum efficancy, that every crime be duly investigated and that the culprits bear their punishment.

OFFICIALS DISCUSS LABOR DISCIPLINE IMPROVEMENTS

LD072100 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Leaders of ministries and departments of the USSR and RSFSR, chairmen of the central committees of industry trade unions and secretaries of party committees of ministries and departments held a conference at the CPSU Central Committee today. They discussed questions of intensifying work to strengthen labor and production discipline in light of the directives of the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the provisions and conclusions expressed in the speech at the plenum by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Gorbachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrades Zimyanin, Kapitonov and Ryzhkov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Martynov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; Comrade Mishin, first secretary of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol Central Committee; and department heads and other senior functionaries of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, the All-Union Leninist Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR People's Control Committee took part in the conference.

The conference was addressed by Comrade Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Under current conditions, it was stressed at the conference, the directives of the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the need to improve the use of labor resources, reduce losses of work time and consolidate production cadres are of particular importance for the development of the national economy. An intensification of the struggle for an all-round strengthening of labor and production discipline is an important economic-political task. A large role in its solution belongs to ministries and departments which, together with party and trade union bodies, should lead this work. They are called upon to increase strictness toward cadres by the leaders of enterprises, workshops, shifts and teams, to create in collectives an atmosphere of intolerance toward any manifestations of disorganization and violations of discipline, and to give a principled assessment to every such case. Highly productive and high-quality labor should be encouraged, and poor work and indiscipline should have an irrevocable effect on the material rewards of the workers.

Attention was drawn to the need to increase the responsibility of the collegiate of ministries and departments and their leaders for the creation of well-organized and economic conditions for the uninterrupted and smoothworking of associations, enterprises, construction sites and kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and for their unconditional fulfillment of the state plan tasks.

The planning of production must be improved and the material and technical supply of enterprises and construction sites set in good order. Shortcomings in this matter complicate the work of collectives, give rise to uneven work and have a negative effect on labor discipline. The achievements of scientific-technical progress and front-ranking experience, and the team form of organizing and paying labor should be more actively introduced into all spheres of production and management.

The conference pointed out the need to improve legal work in the national economy and to step up the monitoring by ministries, departments and trade unions of strict observance of labor legislation.

Great attention was paid to the questions of bringing up young people, expanding the mentor movement, developing socialist competition among youth and Komsomol collectives and organizing better the labor, studies, everyday conditions and recreation of young workers. It was stressed that party organizations of ministries and departments should enhance the activeness of Communists, make fuller use of the right to monitor the activities of the apparatus as regards the carrying out of party and government directives, and strive to achieve an improvement in the style of work and the creation of an atmosphere of strictness.

Ministries and departments, the central committees of the trade unions and party, trade union and Komsomol bodies are instructed to draw up and implement practical measures to strengthen labor discipline and to raise the responsibility of the leaders of associations, enterprises, construction sites, organizations and kolkhozes and sovkhozes within their jurisdiction for the implementation of these measures in every labor collective.

PRAVDA Editorial

PM071045 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 82 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthening Discipline"]

[Text] Soviet people are now living and working in the atmosphere of political and labor enthusiasm generated by the glorious jubilee of the land of the soviets -- the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation. Responding by deeds to the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) plenum, they are striving to work even more fruitfully, to complete the year in a shock manner and to create the necessary conditions for a successful start in the third year of the 5-year plan.

The targets of the State Plan for 1983 are now being conveyed to every labor collective. It is envisaged that the most important indicators of the economy's development -- national income and labor productivity -- should increase more rapidly in the forthcoming year than in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan. This will enable us to produce and distribute more material goods and to ensure a further improvement in the people's living standard.

Before the start of the New Year Moscow's leading collectives came out with an important initiative -- they launched a movement for the further consolidation of labor and production discipline. In their address to all participants in the socialist competition they stated that the capital's working people are fully determined to improve the efficiency and quality of their work.

The Muscovites welcome with complete approval, as a guide to action, the instruction from Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the November plenum: "We must struggle more resolutely against any violations of party, state and labor discipline."

The leading collectives of the enterprises, construction sites, transportation and other sectors of the capital's economy have adopted pledges aimed at resolutely improving the organization of labor and stepping up the struggle against poor management and violations of production and state discipline. Specific measures have been outlined to ensure that exemplary order in production becomes the daily norm.

The significance of this initiative, aimed at the fuller use of enterprise's internal potential and the attainment of good end results in production, is hard to overestimate. After all, even in stably functioning collectives good average indicators sometimes conceal many stoppages and losses, while in some places absentees, slipshod workers and those partial to liquor try to sit tight behind the leading workers. That is why the creation of exemplary order in production, the raising of mutual exactingness and intolerance of violations of discipline are so important. The unconditional fulfillment of the production plan must become the law, a matter of honor and the worker's conscience.

Right now every collective has an opportunity to define more precisely the measure of each person's labor and his personal contribution. Among these opportunities special significance is attached to the extensive introduction into practice of the team forms of organizing and remunerating work, and to work on a single job schedule using the coefficient of each person's labor participation in attaining the highest end results. Where labor and labor incentive are organized in precisely this way, the collective works steadily and there are virtually no violations of labor and production discipline.

There are many examples of the precise organization of labor and of strict labor order in production. The leading collectives' successes are determined ot a decisive degree by the high level of discipline and a sharpened sense of responsibility for the job in hand on the part of both workers and leaders.

The consolidation of order in production depends largely on the stability of the collectives and the reduction of cadres turnover. Moscow's leading enterprises have resolved to show no indulgence to "drifters" and propose restoring the practice of accepting them for work only through the rayispolkom employment commissions. Every case of a worker leaving "at his own request" will be discussed at a workers meeting. And this practice accords with the requirement of the country's basic law which states that it is the duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to engage in conscientious labor and observe labor discipline. The power of persuasion and the power of the law must be used against violators. The workers themselves say that it is time to eradicate liberalism with regard to drunkards, people who lead an antisocial way of life, parasites and "drifters."

The production commanders -- foremen, shop and shift chiefs, and enterprise and association directors -- have a great role to play here. In assessing their activity it is necessary to proceed from the premise that they are responsible for the state and consolidation of discipline just as they are for the fulfillment of plan targets. It is their direct duty to organize the collective's labor precisely and scientifically, to ensure its high efficiency, to concern themselves with the correct assessment of each person's contribution to the overall results and with the timely solution of the social questions which worry people, and to set an example themselves of a conscientious, enterprising attitude toward matters. The workers' collective has the right to make the leader answerable for why the uninterrupted operation of the sector entrusted to him has not been ensured, or why the labor rhythm has been disrupted.

This must be facilitated by improving the work of the standing production conferences and by the regular holding of workers meetings. High exactingness toward cadres and strict answerability for lack of initiative and enterprise must now become the rule in the work of the party organizations, soviets and trade unions.

Order must be reinforced in all sectors of the national economy, in scientific institutions and in the sphere of administration and services for the population. The local soviet organs must arrange the schedule for the work of consumer services establishments, legal offices, and courts and municipal services in such a way that enterprise workers can avail themselves of all their services in their free time.

The party and trade union organizations, expressing the will of the labor collectives, are called on to constantly expand and improve the arsenal of means of educational work with people. The activeness of the comrades' courts and people's control groups and posts must be enhanced, mass checks and surveys of the use of worktime must be made more frequently and the effectiveness of the information and propaganda media must be enhanced. In the struggle to strengthen discipline it is not loud words which are needed but actions and precise organizational work aimed at ultilizing all internal production reserves and enhancing the efficiency of the economy.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHRISTMAS CELEBRATIONS HELD

LD071042 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Anna Grigoriyeva writes: Festive divine services took place last night and in the morning today in all Russian Orthodox churches to celebrate Christmas, which is marked by the Russian Orthodox Church on January 7 (December 25 according to the old calendar).

The ringing of bells greeted Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia when he arrived at the Twelfth-Day Cathedral to conduct the festive liturgy. The ceremony was traditionally attended by both the regular parishioners and by diplomats and members of their families. Both patriarchal choirs, known for their beautiful rendition of liturgical chants, were singing at the ceremony.

Patriarch Pimen late last year sent his New Year and Christmas message to all parishes. During the days of the festival the believers will hear in their parish churches the words of the patriarchal appeal, which calls special attention to the need to execute the Christians' sacred duty of serving stronger peace and friendship among nations.

Many eparchial bishops also addressed the believers with messages stressing the need and the religious duty to work for protecting mankind against the threat of war. Metropolitan Yuvenalzy of Krutitsy and Kolomna, locum tenens of the Moscow Patriarchal See, cited in his message the words of Vasiliy the Great, the outstanding religious personality of the 4th century: "Nothing is more natural of a Christian than to be a peace-maker."

Ceremonial public worships were held in the temples of the Georgian Orthodox Church, decked out with greenery and flowers. Festive lights are on at the temples of the old-believer churches. Their followers have long lived in Moscow, a number of southern cities, the Soviet Baltic republics and northern areas, where their forefathers settled way back in the 17th century.

Christmas meetings of believers were held in the prayer houses of the evangelic Christian-Baptists.

GRISHIN ADDRESSES MOSCOW GORKOM CONFERENCE

PM071521 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 82 p 1

[Text] A conference of party raykom first secretaries and rayispolkom chairmen was held yesterday at Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Taking part in the conference were members and candidate members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau, chiefs of party gorkom sections, deputy chairmen of Moscow Gorispolkom and leaders of Moscow Gorispolkom main administrations and a number of administrations and of city organizations.

R.F. Dementyeva, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, delivered a report on the results of Moscow city celebrations for the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation and the political and organizational work to fulfill the tasks set in the materials of the joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

S.M. Kolomin, first deputy chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom, reported on services for Moscow's population during the New Year holiday.

V.V. Grishin, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, addressed the conference.

PRAVDA EDITORIAL ON NATIONALITIES QUESTION

PM071721 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 82 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Triumph of Great Friendship"]

[Text] The formation of the USSR is rightly considered one of the most important turning points in world history. It was in accordance with Lenin's idea and with his direct participation that the specific state forms and political institutions which have enabled dozens of peoples to live and work in peace and fraternity were determined. An alliance appearing to the whole world as the triumph of the Leninist party's nationalities policy was created on the basis of total voluntariness and full equality of rights among all the nations and ethnic groups.

The USSR's jubilee has become a festival of very broad international significance. These days the attention of everyone who values the cause of peace and progress and the future of mankind and its planet is riveted on our state's 60th anniversary, the materials of the joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the report "60 Years of the USSR" by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

An entire epoch lies between the present day and December 1922. This epoch and the results of the path traveled have irrefutably proved the rightness of the teaching of Marx and Lenin that only on a class basis is the possibility of resolving the nationalities question opened up, and that the Communist Party is the leading and directing force and the guarantor of the correctness of this resolution. This epoch has included the total disappearance of the national backwaters, where the road to socialism frequently started from feudal-patriarchal and even ancestral relations. This epoch has resulted in very profound changes in the economies of all the republics, in the transformation of their social structure and in the flowering of a socialist multinational culture. Socialist nations have taken shape and now form a new historic community of people -- the Soviet people.

The real qualitative changes which have occurred in national relations over these 60 years attest that the nationalities question in the form in which we inherited it from the exploiter system has been resolved successfully, resolved finally and irrevocably.

For the first time in history a country's multinational composition has been turned from a source of its weakness into a source of strength and prosperity.

Summing up these achievements, our party, true to the Leninist tradition, concentrates attention on what must still be done on the way to the historic goal, which V.I. Lenin defined as "not only rapprochement among nations but also their merging." Of course, movement along this path is not easy and will still be long. Here we must on no account run ahead, just as we also must not allow the resolution of already urgent processess to be held up.

"Successes in resolving the nationalities question," Comrade Yu.V. Andropov said, "certainly do not mean that all the problems created by the very fact of life and work within the framework of a unified state containing many nations and ethnic groups have disappeared. Such a thing is hardly possible while nations and national differences exist. They will exist for a long time, much longer than class differences."

Taking these circumstances into account, the CPSU has defined the urgent tasks of the nationalities policy at the stage of developed socialism.

The party directs its attention and that of central and local planning and economic organs toward ensuring the still more close and skillful pooling of the efforts of different regions and republics. The most sensible utilization of every republic's natural and labor resources and climatic features and the most rational incorporation of this potential in the all-union potential -- this is what will be of the greatest benefit to every region and every nation and ethnic group, as well as to the whole state. For this it will be necessary, in particular, to further improve the siting of productive forces, regional specialization and cooperation and economic ties and transportation programs. It will be necessary to specialize agriculture more profoundly and consistently on the scale of the whole country so that each republic is able to promote the fulfillment of the USSR Food Program most effectively. It will be necessary to substantially improve the work of transport, which, under the conditions of our vast country, plays a very important economic, political and even psychological role.

The augmenting and mutual exchange of spiritual riches is of special significance in national relations. To make this exchange still more fruitful, to give people still wider access to all that is best in the culture of each of our peoples and, at the same time, to rid oneself of everything obsolete and everything that runs counter to the norms of Soviet intercourse and socialist morality and to our communist ideals -- this is great, rewarding work in which party organizations, the mass media and scientific and cultural figures must participate still more actively.

It must be borne in mind that the growth of national consciousness, which is determined by the economic and social progress of all the Soviet nations and ethnic groups, is a delicate and complex process. It is important, the party points out, that natural pride in successes achieved should not turn into national conceit or arrogance or give rise to trends toward isolationism or to a disrespectful attitude toward other nations and ethnic groups. But negative phenomena of this sort are still encountered, sometimes as a consequence of certain blunders in particular spheres of our creative work. There is nothing trivial here, for everything is important: one's attitude toward language and monuments of the past, one's interpretation of historic events and the way in which villages and cities and people's living and working conditions are transformed. This is one of the most responsible sectors in the ideological educational and organizational activity of party and soviet organs and all cadres locally. Today they are increasingly becoming champions and executors of the party's nationalities policy, and they have to implement the lofty principles of this policy every day, ensuring harmonious, fraternal relations among representatives of all -- both large and small -- nations and ethnic groups both in labor and in everyday life.

The CPSU once again emphasizes the significance of most attentive attitude toward the growth of national detachments of the working class. Workers are now the largest social group in all the union republics. In some of them, however, the indegenous nationality should be represented more fully in the composition of the working class. The broadening and improvement of the training of skilled workers from among all the nations and ethnic groups living in the republics is an important task -- both an economic and a political one. Multinational labor collectives and, above all, worker collectives are just the medium in which an internationalist spirit is best fostered and the fraternity and friendship of the USSR's peoples are strengthened.

National relations mean a whole complex of cooperation among nations and ethnic groups. This includes the question of working people's representation on the party and state organs of the republics and the union as a whole. It includes the education of Soviet people in the spirit of mutual respect and friendship among all nations and ethnic groups, love for their great Soviet motherland, internationalism and solidarity with the working people of other countries. It includes the further deepening of socialist democracy and much besides.

In other words, problems of relations among nations are not removed from the agenda even under conditions of real socialism. These problems still demand the Communist Party's special concern, their profound investigation, the scientific, Marxist-Leninist elaboration of ways to resolve them and the creative enrichment of the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy with the practice of real socialism. We are well aware of these problems, it was pointed out at the joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. These tasks are within our power, and we can and must resolve them. A policy of action, not big talk -- this is what is needed today to make the great and mighty USSR still stronger.

The experience of the formation of the first multinational worker-peasant state serves as a kind of guiding star for fighters for social progress and exerts a profound influence on the affairs of the tempestuous and complex 20th century. The historic achievements which working people representing more than 100 nations and ethnic groups have scored with the extensive and noble assistance of the Russian people delight mankind.

The great friendship of our country's peoples is strengthening and developing under the Communist Party's leadership. they are confidently traveling the path indicated by Lenin, demonstrating to the whole world that the combined energy and labor of free peoples are capable of working the real miracle of rapidly raising the millions-strong masses to the heights of modern civilization. Their deeds, their achievements and their whole way of life are most convincing evidence of the triumph of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy.

KOMMUNIST NO 18 PUBLISHED, CONTENTS OUTLINED

PM070911 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 82 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] Issue 18 of the CPSU Central Committee theoretical and political journal KOMMUNIST has been published.

It publishes the document "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo." It carried an editorial entitled "This Is Our Strength" and an article by A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, entitled "For the Sake of Peace on Earth."

The following articles are featured in the section "Toward the 60th Anniversary of the USSR": "Within a Common Formation -- Toward a Single Goal" by R. Nabiyev, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, and "Close Combat Collaboration, Fraternal Unity" by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The following articles are carried under the rubric "At the Borders of the 11th 5-Year Plan": "The Development of the Sectorial Management of Industry" by G. Popov and "The Soviet Social Security System" by D. Komarova, RSFSR minister of social security.

The journal features the following Articles: "The Problem of National Integration in India" by S.G. Sardesai, chairman of the Communist Party of India Central Control Commission, "Africa: Social Class Shifts" by I. Andreyev and an international review by Yu. Molchanov and V. Nekrasov entitled "The Year 1982."

CPSU CC CONGRATULATES TINPLATE PRODUCERS

PM101017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 82 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To the construction workers, installation workers, metallurgists, party, trade union and komsomol organizations and all participants in the construction of tin production complex at the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy's Karaganda metallurgical combine

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on finishing the construction of the tinplate production complex at the Karaganda metallurgical combine.

The creation of a large automated production unit equipped with modern, home-produced equipment is a great labor victory in the all-union socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. This will make it possible to satisfy more fully the food industry's tinplate requirements and will promote the fulfillment of the Food Program adopted by the party.

The successes you have achieved are the result of joint creative labor by a multinational collective of workers, engineers and scientists and the result of organizational and mass political work by party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organization.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses the confidence that the construction workers and metallurgists will multiply their efforts for the speediest startup of the commissioned capacities and the further development of this important production unit.

We wish you, dear comrades, new labor successes in fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) plenum and the 5-year plan targets and good health and happiness.

CPSU Central Committee

R. MEDVEDEV INTERVIEWED ON ANDROPOV'S TASKS

PM061637 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Jan 83 pp 6-7

[Soviet Historian Roy Medvedev interview by Rodolfo Brancoli in Moscow; date not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr Medvedev, an extraordinarily important year for your country has come to an end. I would like to talk to you about Andropov and Andropov's Russia. Let us start with the new CPSU general secretary: Who is Yuriy Andropov?

[Answer] At the moment I can only say very little about him. Soviet leaders do not like publicity; furthermore Andropov for a long time performed particular functions within the state and party apparatus that prompt people to deliberately avoid any "proximity." But while he was head of a department and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that is from 1957 through 1967, he proved himself to be an energetic and intellectually capable man, not at all inclined to dogmatism and determined to set in order as far as possible the matters for which he was responsible.

[Question] That is, he was not a routine bureaucrat....

[Answer] No, rather a professional politician with undoubtedly long-term political ambitions. For instance, Andropov introduced into the Central Committee apparatus a substantial group of skillful young intellectuals: philosophers, Sinologists, economists, people who had already successfully started a scientific career. At that time I knew some of those people well, and they greatly esteemed Andropov's political and managerial skills. I believe that some of them will be moved to politically important posts.

[Question] Then in 1967 he was put in charge of the KGB, where he stayed for 15 years. Yet he seems to have managed not to identify himself and his political reputation with the KGB's activity and reputation. What is the explanation?

[Answer] The KGB is certainly not a popular organization, either within the USSR or abroad. Despite huge propaganda efforts, its popularity did not increase much even under Andropov. But although he headed it for longer than any of his predecessors, as you say, he managed more than any other leader of that organization not to identify himself with it. How did he do it? In public the KGB was represented much more often, for instance, by Tsvigun (first deputy chairman and Brezhnev's brother-in-law, now deceased -- LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) instead of Andropov. The latter usually behaved not as a professional "Chekist" or agent but as a politician instructed by the party to supervise the activity of the KGB and other punitive administrative bodies. It must also be remembered that, as a Politburo member, Andropov had much broader functions, though I personally know absolutely nothing about his work at that level.

[Question] But during the period a thorough struggle was waged against dissidence, and by the eighties the movement was virtually eliminated. Those who did not emigrate -- and they were the majority -- entirely abandoned political activity. Some are still in prison. Andropov was certainly not the least participant in this action to repress the various opposition currents.

[Answer] Of course the repression of dissidents was not carried out without Andropov's approval. On the other hand, his name has never been linked by the public with the phenomenon of corruption, which has acquired a very widespread and profound character in the past 10-15 years, even in the state and party apparatus, and which Brezhnev often regarded complacently.

[Question] You are saying that, as far as the public at home is concerned, this is much more important than the repression of dissidents. Summing up, then: an energetic and intelligent man, shrewd and open-minded, well-educated and able to appreciate other people's learning and skillful in his choice of aides. Obviously I am going to ask you what kind of policy Andropov is likely to pursue. But first I will ask you about the Russia that the new CPSU general secretary finds himself leading.

[Answer] In general, the USSR of 1982 is undoubtedly very different from the USSR of 1964, when Brezhnev became secretary, both with regard to domestic problems and living conditions and with regard to our country's international position. It is sufficient to point out, for instance, that in the past 18 years the national product and industrial output have more than trebled. On the whole, the Soviets are starting to be better off, though the improvements have not been as substantial as might have been expected in the early sixties and as the population would have liked. Many promises and many plans have remained on paper and, though the country's industrial potential has increased substantially, the structure and the management methods of the national economy -- and of society as a whole -- have changed very little, indeed, I would say that the contradiction between the production system and management methods has exacerbated. This contradiction is now the main reason for the slowing of economic development rates.

[Question] In other words, it is necessary to change the methods of management, planning, supply and economic stimulus. How far will the new leadership go along this path?

[Answer] It is difficult to say, but in many production sectors it is necessary to increase decentralization and the opportunity for initiative on the part of individuals within the context of light production and within the sphere of services and agriculture.

[Question] Yes, agriculture. Is Andropov's heritage in this field more burdensome than that which Brezhnev received from Khrushchev?

[Answer] From several viewpoints, yes. Compared to industrial development, agricultural development over the past 18 years has been much lower. Gross output has increased by only 30-40 percent, and in the past 4 years it has not increased at all. On the contrary, it has fallen. The vast sums allocated to agriculture over the last 20 years -- probably greater than in the military sector -- have not produced the hoped-for result. They have merely caused a high increase in the production costs of agricultural products, which has in turn led to a major increase in state subsidies to keep down the rising prices of agricultural products.

[Question] But leaving aside these quantitative figures, it seems to me that one could say that during the almost 20 years of Brezhnev there has also been a growth and increased maturity within society. One is struck, for instance, by the evident social stratification that has come about and been consolidated, while one has the impression of an increase in the role and influence of specialists and of the formation of specialized elites.

[Answer] You are perfectly correct when you talk about the existence within Soviet society of various social strata that differ from each other in their living standards and conditions. But the policy of cadre stability pursued by Brezhnev has meant that the composition of the leadership strata of society, of the state and of the party has changed very slowly over the past 20 years. This has led in particular to a substantial rise in the average age of Soviet leaders, among whom there are really no young people. Furthermore, it is obvious that the gap between the living standards of the elites and those of the people's masses has increased. Also, it does not seem to me that during this period there has really been any increased in the role of the professions, of specialists, scientists and experts.

Of course there are more of them: Our country's higher institutes educated twice as many specialists in 1980-82 as in 1960-62. However, I do not believe that their social status has increased significantly. Bureaucratism and the excessively predominant role of bureaucracy in Soviet society remain some of the principal obstacles to its development, not only economic but also political.

[Question] So you do not see any greater awareness and participation?

[Answer] If we are talking about the people's awareness, I see virtually no progress. In other words, the population's participation in politics, their understanding of domestic and foreign policy have increased too little, I believe, to be noteworthy. The majority of issues are ultimately still decided by the leadership, with minimal people's participation. So social awareness, if we regard the term in the broadest sense, has virtually not increased during this period.

[Question] But there are channels for participation in the country's political life. Indeed, the newspapers complain that they are insufficiently used.

[Answer] Yes, it would not be correct to say that the USSR's population do not have the opportunity to participate in the country's political life. This opportunity does exist, but only for those who agree with the Communist Party's ideology and policy. It can be assumed that there are many of these people, the majority, though in our country there is no entirely reliable machinery for verifying it. But in the USSR there are no opportunities for participation in political life for those who do not share the Communist Party's policy and ideology, even if it is only a matter of certain essential aspects. In other words, in our country there is no opportunity for opposition political activity. Such opportunities were minimal in 1964 and have neither increased nor decreased in 1982. But undoubtedly dissidents' activities in the sixties and seventies left traces in society's awareness, and the first germs of an independent public opinion emerged in the USSR.

[Question] It seems to me, in other words, that one can talk in terms of a stunted growth, full of limitations and contradictions, not homogeneous, but nevertheless difficult to deny and with respect to which the institutions and the party seem to be lagging behind. For instance, what is the present relationship between society and the institutions in the USSR, and to what extent did the 1977 Constitution assimilate that growth?

[Answer] The changes that have come about are not connected to any one institution. The authority of many political institutions in the USSR and the authority of dogmatized ideology have clearly diminished over the past 20 years, just as the new Constitution stresses the leading role of the party and the state much more than the 1936 Constitution. To facilitate the growth of the Soviet state's authority and the strengthening of the Communist Party's leading role constitutes, according to the new Constitution, one of the principal duties of all Soviet citizens. The Constitution barely acknowledges the right to criticize individual leaders of institutions, but not to political criticism of the state and the social system. The new Constitution leaves no room in social life for political minorities, whereas it is necessary to extend within our society the opportunities for political and social criticism and free discussion of the principal problems of social and state development, not merely of the inadequacy of the transport system or of vegetable supplies. Of course citizens must support their own state, but the state must be concerned with its own authority and earn it through its own activity instead of introducing it into legislation, just as the Communist Party must earn its leading role within the state not by legislative or repressive means but by political means. If we are talking about the principal problems to be resolved, then we must talk first about democratization. Our society needs a gradual and careful, but steadfast and consistent process of democratization that will leave scope for the interests and rights not only of the majority but also of the minority.

[Question] You talk about democracy and democratization. But if we stop 100 citizens at random in a Moscow square and ask each of them if in their everyday lives they now perceive a demand for greater discipline or greater democracy and freedom, what do expect their answer to be? I am willing to bet that the vast majority would call for greater discipline.

[Answer] Yes, of course, the majority would reply that they need more consumer goods and more order and discipline. Only a few would say that they want more freedom -- not only because there is a fear of speaking out, but also because Soviet people do not know the value of democracy, inasmuch as they have never lived under democratic conditions. There is a very limited understanding of its value, and ordinary people therefore merely want more discipline instead of more democracy.

[Question] In any case this seems to me an essential factor to be borne in mind, instead, of imagining "leaps forward" for which the subjective amd objective conditions do not exist. I would therefore like to ask you, returning to Andropov, whether within the existing institutional and ideological framework -- I would say within the existing political culture, which I believe is shared by both the leadership and the grass roots -- you perceive at least possibilities of movement in the direction you hope for.

[Answer] I would say first that Andropov will confer on the party leadership characteristics of greater resoluteness and greater intellectualism -- two elements that were obviously not characteristic traits of the Brezhnev administration. There is no doubt that Andropov will wage a vigorous struggle against corruption, and in fact some important measures in this direction have already been taken. I also believe that he will try to resolve the split that has in fact occurred over the past 15 years between society and the leadership, and that the recourse to the political method will be strengthened to the detriment of repressive methods. But it is difficult to believe that the influence of public opinion will increase or that any substantial increase within the field of democracy awaits us. For the time being one can hope that pragmatic intellectuals will be prompted to replace dogmatic individuals, and expert administrators and technocrats to replace bureaucrats. Be that as it may, without a democratization it is impossible to eliminate corruption completely or to guarantee a stable and protracted cultural and economic growth.

[Question] Does it not seem to you, however, that there is something more in the secretary's remarks and in the Politburo document on the citizens' letters of condemnation and protest? A greater understanding of social problems, a desire to motivate and involve the worker, the intention to allocate a greater share of responsibility to those with leadership tasks at the various levels?

[Answer] Yes, in my opinion, too, one can perceive in Andropov's remarks an understanding of social problems. But it does not yet seem profound enough to indicate an understanding of the need for broad structural reforms. Our society already needs reforms more extensive than a mere increase in consumer goods and greater attention to letters sent by the workers. Of course the initiatives taken hitherto reflect Andropov's desire to show that he is really concerned with the population's needs and requirements. If rapid progress cannot be made in resolving these problems, he at least wants the population to gain the conviction that these issues will be tackled. The decision to publish the leaders' proceedings is also important: The population must see that the Politburo is dealing actively with its requirements. Of course these are measures that in Andropov's opinion should permit a growth in the party leadership's popularity.

[Question] It seems to me that by setting his sights on greater rigor in the administration and a struggle against wastage and corruption, Andropov is striking deep chords within the Soviet citizenry. It remains to be seen, however, whether it is thought possible to stop at this, without proceeding to the causes.

[Answer] Yet indeed, a struggle against corruption based on administrative measures will certainly bring about a contraction of the phenomenon and will gain the population's support. However, it will not change the causes of corruption, which will persist in more heavily disguised forms. The people's dissatisfaction will diminish, but the essential problems that worry people will not be resolved. I do not know what Andropov thinks about this, but at the moment I see no signs that betray an intention on his part to change the entire system that generates corruption, because corruption is generated first and foremost by a system of extrordinarily broad powers on the part of the leadership. This is not a new ailment but an evil that has dragged on for centuries in Russia. To cure it, it is necessary to increase the political activity of the entire population, changing many elements of the social structure itself. There are no signs yet that the new leadership envisages such radical reforms.

[Question] Is it not also possible to infer from the Politburo's latest indications a desire to interest the workers' masses directly in the results of their work and to increase their role in the solution of problems?

[Answer] This is probably the case, but it must be remembered that the Politburo's decisions always refer to masses presumed to be entirely in agreement with party policy. There is no chance for those who see things differently. Greater scope will be created for those who agree with party policy, but for those who would like to formulate more critical proposals -- something like an opposition -- the opportunities are still nil. Hitherto no more effective instruments for monitoring the life and activity of supreme state bodies have been invented than those of an opposition.

[Question] Albeit within these obvious limits, something important has nevertheless begun to happen. If we are to attribute to the new secretary the intention of initiating reformist activity, albeit cautious, where can he find support and where will he encounter resistance? Because Soviet society is not at all as monolithic as people pretend.

[Answer] Any political leader must take into consideration the feelings and interests of the various strata of the population, of the various groups of the establishment, and even of the individual top representatives that belong to the Politburo. The USSR Constitution only talks about the working class, kolkhoz members -- peasants -- and the intelligentsia as components of society. But in real politics one cannot ignore the influence and interests of certain groups such as the middle- and higher-ranking military cadres, the officials in charge of the economy, including top-level technocrats, party officials at the local level and with the Central Committee apparatus, and the creative intelligentsia, which includes scientists, writers, directors, diplomats, and so forth. There are states of mind and problems whose solution will enjoy the backing of all the sectors of the population that I have mentioned, guaranteeing the new leadership the necessary popularity to wage a vigorous struggle against corruption, to introduce basic order into the economic field and the various spheres of state management, to improve agriculture and food supplies and to promote younger, competent leaders everywhere.

In pursuing this policy Andropov will encounter resistance only on the part of corrupt and lazy bureaucrats who work little and badly and misues their power.

[Question] You mentioned the military. In the West some maintain that the military is the dominant group -- indeed the only one that is adequately representative and entirely decisive. Is this really the case?

[Answer] My impression is that the West overestimates the role of the military and of the military bodies in the USSR.

In any case the establishment is not so well represented within the leadership of society: It is sufficient to point out that within the composition of the Central Committee it accounts for 6 percent, while political leaders account for 40 percent. The military leadership has a predominantly professional character and does not nurture political ambitions; in other words, it is satisfied when it considers its professional interests satisfied. It is true that during the phases of transition from one era to another their role tends to increase, because in many respects their backing is decisive in attaining power. This has been the case in every succssion in the CPSU's history, and today Andropov's accession to power has been facilitated by the military leadership's backing. I will not elaborate now on why the Army was dissatisfied with Brezhnev, but will merely say that the general atmosphere of misgovernment and corruption prompted anxiety and annoyance. For Andropov it was important that he was backed by Ustinov himself: Indeed, his backing was decisive. But when the government becomes stabilized, the military generally concerns itself with its own affairs again. Believe me, the country's political leadership is capable of controlling the Army efficiently. This is not the problem: The problem is that the political leadership is not controlled by anyone.

[Question] And you do not expect much in this regard....

[Answer] The vast majority of the most prominent representatives of the groups I mentioned do not yet understand the value of democracy and therefore can support only the most insignificant corrections. Of course, Andropov and those around him will not be as petty in their relations with the intelligentsia as their predecessors. But the priority will not be given to democracy, though without a real democratization there can be neither complete success in the struggle against corruption, nor a reform. Authoritarianism is not the sole but is the principal obstacle to the development of Soviet society, and it is difficult to hope that this problem can be resolved by the present generation of the USSR's leaders. It would be very good and very valuable if the new leadership were to establish major conditions for this problem to be resolved by the coming generations of leaders.

MEDVEDEV VIEWS BREZHNEV'S DECLINING YEARS

PM071653 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 2 Jan 83 p 4

[Part three of article by Roy Medvedev: "Vain and Easily Moved"]

[Text] Leonid Brezhnev's intellectual equipment was modest, as I have already pointed out. No one who knew him well could call him educated, although he was called "a prominent Marxist-Leninist theoretician" in the press.

Brezhnev's television appearances did more harm than good to his popularity, because everyone saw that he was unable to deliver even the simplest speech without looking at his notes. He never diverged from the written text, as Krushchev did. Brezhnev was unable to give a free press conference or answer a question which had just been put -- something which Khrushchev, Mikoyan or Gromyko were able to do with such ease. Quick-wittedness and humor were not his characteristics. During his last years he read from his texts mechanically and sometimes there were mistakes. Only once, during his state visit to France, where the art of speaking is so valued, did he deliver his speech from memory. But the speech was broadcast on the radio and it was clear to Russian listeners that he missed some words and expressions so that certain phrases became incomprehensible. Of course, the French noticed nothing, since the interpreter had done his homework better.

Brezhnev did not tire himself with work, as I have already mentioned. It is true that he sometimes was forced to work very hard -- under Stalin and Khrushchev. But when his own power grew his working day shortened rather than lengthened.

He liked relaxing in pleasant company. When he was younger he seldom missed an opportunity to go hunting or fishing, or swimming in the sea. He liked good company, good wines and he had success with women. In such circumstances he was cheerful and simple, and this boosted his popularity among political leaders of his generation. Right into his old age he liked fast cars and he drove himself. Foreign heads of state used to give him new models when they learned about his interest and we can assume that Leonid Ilich had a fair-sized garage.

One of my friends who is a party member was present at a gala dinner in the Kremlin and found himself standing near a group of Politburo members who were discussing something. They included Suslov, Brezhnev, Shernenko, Kirilenko and some others. My friend closely observed their facial expressions and their way of speaking. Afterwards he confessed to me: "If I had been forced to go to one of these men about something that was important to me, I would have chosen to go to Brezhnev. He was more relaxed and behaved more naturally than the others."

However, this does not mean that Brezhnev devoted much time to petitions and statements from ordinary people. Brezhnev did not receive everyone who came to him, as Lenin did in order to better understanding of the needs and demands of simple workers and farmers. Brezhnev relied more on his assistants and those reporting to him. However, he often took part in meetings of veterans of the 18th Army. But these were not the place for candid conversation. Once he said to one of the veterans who came from a rural town where there was no meat, sausage or cheese: "Soviet people really have it good now." The old veteran did not try to contradict Marshal Brezhnev. Perhaps he was right, if we compare 1982 with 1942.

Brezhnev did not like complications or conflicts either in politics or in personal relations. But if you are head of state you cannot avoid conflicts. Brezhnev always tried to smooth over and avoid tense situations.

We know that when Stalin dismissed some or other of his former colleagues these seldom enjoyed a long life and were not allowed to remain free. To be summoned to meet Stalin was dangerous not only for regional party secretaries and ministers but also for Politburo members. If Khrushchev got rid of anyone, that person lost his position, and those who were powerful one day could next day be sent to a ordinary job and lose all their privileges.

When Brezhnev had conflicts with any of the other leaders they were seldom forced to retire. This only happened to a few of them. But the majority remained within the "nomenklatura". That is, they still occupied prominent positions, but two or three steps lower. Thus a Politburo member could become a deputy minister and a minister could become a regional party secretary. A member of the Central Committee could be appointed ambassador to such countries as Denmark, Austria or Norway.

Dishonest people exploited Brezhnev's good nature and his inability to make demands. It often happened that he allowed people who had been caught stealing to keep their jobs, and he did not allow investigations of them to be made. For example, it took a long time to remove Vasiliy Mzhavanadze from the Central Committee and from Georgia where he was party first secretary. In Georgia, Mzhavanadze's greed and corruption were legendary.

Minister of Fisheries Aleksandr Ishkov went unpunished, although his ministry had been involved in an unparalleled fraud conspiracy for many years. One of his deputy ministers was sentenced to death.

Even Mikhail Suslov thought that he should be replaced, especially after Suslov himself had failed to be elected to the academy in 1977. As a result he is still head of the department and during the seventies he was also elected to the Soviet Academy of Sciences as a corresponding member despite the fact that the Politburo had made a special decision forbidding leading party workers to be nominated for election to the academy.

(State bodies are unable to influence the elections to the Academy of Scicence. Only its members are able to vote. Since there often are many candidates these are therefore the only free elections in the Soviet Union. Translator's note.)

Perhaps it sounds strange, but Brezhnev was a very sentimental person. He cried not only when his close friends were buried but also on occasions when politicians usually remain unmoved.

For example, when the film "Belorussia Station" was made by Mosfilm in the seventies: It was a very good film but the censors were unwilling to release it for screening, since they considered that the Soviet militia (the militarized police) were not portrayed sufficiently positively. But some influential person who wanted the film to be shown hit on the idea of inviting the Politburo to see it.

There is an episode in the film when former soldiers meet many years after the war and their girlfriend, who was a nurse, sings a song about their infantry battalion. The song, which was written by the famous Soviet troubador, Bulat Okudzhava, moved Brezhnev and the film was released immediately.

Something similar happen to Vasiliy Shukshin's film "Kalina Krasnaya." It contains an episode in which the former criminal and his girlfriend go to visit his mother. He does not dare go in, but stands behind the door and listens to his mother talking of him who disappeared so long ago but whom she loves and still waits for. Without daring to go in he leaves the house and goes to a derelict church where he falls weeping onto the grass by the church wall.

This episode should be removed, people said. The censors asked Shukshin why the central figure in his film goes to a church and why this church is derelict. But when Brezhnev saw this sequence he began to cry, and the film was allowed to be screened and was a well-deserved success.

When Brezhnev was on vacation he liked seeing films and could watch two or three a day. He was very fond of popular old U.S. films or cowboy films and therefore got to know Ronald Reagan long before he became President.

Once at a reception hosted by Nixon, one of America's famous actors went up to Brezhnev, took off a belt with two enormous pistols and gave it to Brezhnev. Brezhnev was unable to conceal his delight.

During the last months of his life Brezhnev often watched the best Soviet films. These were mostly old films, but Leonid Ilich had not seen them earlier, since he had been busy when they had been screened. He liked the film "Quiet Flows the Don" from 1957-58 very much. The central role of Grigoriy Melechev was played by the young actor Petr Glebov. Since then Glebov has hardly done any acting worthy of the name and has not had a single important role. But Brezhnev insisted that he be given the Order of Lenin and the title of People's Artist, despite the fact that the film was then old.

Leonid Brezhnev liked Vladimir Vysotskiy's songs and often listened to tapes of them, but Vysotskiy derived no benefits from this. The Soviet Union's most popular actor had neither titles nor prizes. When Vysotskiy died Brezhnev was at his country house in the Crimea meeting French Communist leader George Marchais.

After their morning dip they were served breakfast on the beach. Brezhnev turned on the tape recorder with Vsysotskiy's songs and said. "Let us celebrate his memory!" They drank to his soul's salvation.

Brezhnev was not too domineering or power seeking, but he was an unbelievably vain politician. He loved medals and decorations. Finally, different strata of society began to joke about this feature of Brezhnev. No single Soviet leader has had 1/5 as many medals, decorations or honorary titles as Brezhnev.

During the war Brezhnev received no medals. In June 1945 when Brezhnev, with the rank of major general, took part in the victory parade in Red Square, he had only three decorations and three medals. He was given further decorations under Khruschev, but it was when Brezhnev came to power himself that he really began to be decorated.

When Soviet leaders are buried their medals and decorations are carried on velvet cushions behind the coffin. At Suslov's funeral there were 15 high-ranking officers carrying his decorations. But Brezhnev had more than 200 decorations, so more than 1 had to be fitted onto each cushion, and the guard of honor which carried them comprised 40 officers.

The Soviet propaganda which fed Brezhnev's vanity sometimes took on grotesque dimensions. Pictures of Brezhnev appeared in the press much more often than did pictures of Stalin and Khrushchev. Posters and pictures of Brezhnev with quotes from his speeches were visible everywhere. One of his assistants who hinted that it would be better if he did not appear so often on television was immediately sacked from the Central Committee. Brezhnev liked watching such television programs.

A great deal has been written about the Brezhnev personality cult. But all these propaganda efforts are only a superficial personality cult. In fact, the majority of the Soviet people were enormously indifferent toward Leonid Brezhnev. There was no cult of Brezhnev as the people's leader and conscience. We have to remember that the exposure of Stalin, and later that of Beriya, Molotov, Kaganovich and others, and even later that of Khrushchev, had led to a general weakening of the ruling circle's authority and power over Russian minds. Despite all the propaganda efforts indifference remained the feeling with which the populace met Brezhnev throughout his 18 years in government. The protracted campaign to praise Brezhnev's "war record" had the opposite effect to that intended. In the sixties, when Brezhnev's speeches and reports were broadcast on the radio, almost no one listened to them. In the seventies people showed their indifference openly, even in public places such as hotel lobbies, and turned off the television. During the latter half of the seventies people even felt sorry for Brezhnev and said, "It's a pity that such a sick old man has to work."

But they later became irritated. There were fewer and fewer goods in the shops and prices continued to rise. Brezhnev had more and more medals and was hardly able to speak. Perhaps Brezhnev's popularity reached its nadir in the last 2 years. He missed the chance to retire in time to leave room for younger and more competent forces and thereby bequeath a better memory of himself.

Of course, people's living standards did improve in his 18 years in power. But people generally compare standards not with how they were 20 years ago but with how they were 3 or 4 years ago. That is why Brezhnev was buried with all the external marks of respect, but without any national mourning.

EDITORIAL URGES STRUGGLE AGAINST MISMANAGEMENT

LD100900 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 10 Jan 83

[Summary of 10 January PRAVDA editorial entitled "With a High Sense of Responsibility."]

[Text] The socialist economy requires a high degree of organization and order. Everyone well knows that this assumes the strict responsibility of labor collectives for the fulfillment of plans and pledges on contracts, the absolute observance of laws, and a thrifty and economic attitude toward public property. But it is not enough just to keep these principles in mind. They must unremittingly and totally; be put into practice. That is why the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum put so acutely the question of increasing responsibility and intensifying discipline in all areas of work. Letters to the PRAVDA editorial office testify to the fact that the Soviet people clearly understand and fully approve of the party's course to intensify the struggle against any manifestation of mismanagement and lack of discipline.

Our economy is developing on a planned basis. It is important to make sure everywhere that there is strict accounting and verification of labor inputs and consumption, that state and labor discipline are strengthened and that a solid shield is built against attempts to use public resources for private purposes. The responsibility of the worker, the team leader, the shop head, the enterprise director and the industrial manager for the final results of work embodied in real output can and should be raised.

It is the job of party committees and organizations having the right to check on the activities of the management to concentrate attention on these matters, as it is the job of soviets of people's deputies and their executive bodies and of trade unions. Of course, for the best results in this, much work must be done to improve the methods of management.

In evaluating the results of the activity of enterprises and associations it is important to raise the role of indicators of output cost and quality, labor productivity, savings on material resources, the use of capital investment and production funds. It is essential, finally, to make sure the economic contract [khozyaystvennyy dogovor] is in fact the basic document determining the rights and obligations of enterprises for producing and supplying all types of goods.

Long and stable links between enterprises on the basis of economic contracts create the possibility, by coordinating supply schedules, of harmonizing production rates and supply dates for raw materials and goods and of making better use of equipment and production capacities. Such links stimulate cooperation and promote the specialization of enterprises. They are a flexible way of implementing the state plan, and primarily of ensuring that the production of goods and their range and quality correspond to the requirements of particular enterprises and branches of the national economy.

The PRAVDA editorial goes on to say: The intensification of the responsibility of the USSR Gosplan, ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers for the organization and verification of plan fulfillment is of great significance. It is the duty of all planning and administration officials to perform constant and effective checks on the execution of party and government directives. The state of social production, the strengthening of the order in our economic mechanism, the intensification of the economy and the raising of work quality much depend on their adherence to principles and their persistence in carrying through economic policies.

In the words of Lenin, the struggle to establish strictest responsibility for executive functions and the unconditional, disciplined and voluntary execution of directions and instructions is a political matter.

Its success is to a large extent determined by the party organization, the nuclear of labor collectives. Party commissions monitoring the fulfillment of plans for coordinated supplies, mechanization and automation and for increasing output quality have proved themselves, for example, at many enterprises and associations. In each specific case those aspects of the activity of management which are decisive for the given production facility should be subject to verification. The systematic work, based on the mass aktiv, of party organizations in combination with the activity of trade unions, regular production conferences and organs of people's control is an important condition for exemplary order in labor collectives and consequently for the efficient and orderly fulfillment of state targets.

A key problem of organizational work is the selection and deployment of cadres. At the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum, Comrade Andropov noted that at decisive sections there should be people who are politically mature, competent, possessing initiative and innovative. The Communist Party has educated a numerous army of economic leaders of an exemplary business-like and disciplined nature, capable of tackling in a concrete and efficient way the tasks thrown up by life.

A profound understanding of CPSU economic policy, the unconditional observance of state interests, the ability to make correct use of material and moral incentives for the development of the labor acitivity of collectives are required of each production organizer. The soviet economic manager cannot remain indifferent to shortcomings and errors and pass by attempts to embellish the real state of affairs. Leaders working creatively and purposefully, devoting all their effort and knowledge to matters enjoy deserved prestige.

Our country has entered upon the 3d year of the 11th 5-Year Plan. It is important now for party organizations and committees to discuss critically and comprehensively the economic results of the past year, to bring to account the leaders of enterprises which have not met plans and to chart ways of eliminating shortcomings. This applies, in particular, to the collectives of the Rustavi and Samarkand chemical plants, the Dorogobuzh nitrogenous fertilizer works and a number of other enterprises in that industry which have not met the yearly targets for output of mineral fertilizers and other goods.

Intensifying the economy derive, improving the quality indicators of the activity of the whole enterprise, construction project, sovkhoz or kolkhoz is the everyday concern of each labor collective. We have everything we need to fulfill the 1983 plans and the 5-year plan as a whole. The powerful economic, scientific-technical and cultural potential, cohesion and energy of the masses, a high degree of organization, a conscientious attitude toward matters and responsibility should actively promote the successful solution of the tasks set by the party, the editorial in today's PRAVDA says in conclusion.

BRIEFS

NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION -- Baku December 27 TASS -- Natural-gas-production targets, planned for the end of the current five-year period (1985), have been attained at the Caspian off-shore gas fields ahead of time. In the outgoing year the gas fields, which have become the main suppliers of gas in Azerbaijan (Tanscaucasia), have produced more than 14,000 million cubic metres of fuel, the largest amount in the entire history in the exploitation of the Caspian shelf. The gas deposit here is a multi-stage one. On an area of 20 square kilometres there are ten stages saturated with oil and gas deep in the earth's interior. This year two deep wells were sunk to reach them. The geologists tapped the eighth horizon of the deposit which could not be reached previously. Reaching the depth of 6,500 metres, the horizon produces 800,000 cubic metres of gas daily from one well alone. Ninety five per cent of urban flats and 80 per cent of rural ones in Azerbaijan have now been provided with cheap fuel. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 27 Dec 82 LD]

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS FOR 1-7 JANUARY

LD080416 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 1-7 January. Times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 January

Snow retention is being carried out everywhere possible. In Stavropolskoye over 2 million hectares have been sown with winter grain crops, mainly wheat and barley. (1630 GMT)

2 January

The chemical workers of the Belorussian town of Grodno produced 25,000 tons of mineral fertilizer over and above the year's program for the country's spring fields. It is sufficient to guarantee a high yield on an area of more than 300,000 hectares. New regionalized strains have been included in the range of cucurbitaceous crops which the farms of Uzbekistan will be producing in 1983. They are the (?Saimi) melon and the Samarkand white watermelon. The republic's farms have already received 12 tons of selected seed, sufficient to create industrial plantations over an area of 2,500 hectares. The area of green plantations in Kirghizia has been extended. Having completed their autumn and winter plantings, the kolkhoz farmers and workers on sovkhozes and forestry enterprises have planted on the empty slopes of the Tyan Shan and Pamir-Altay mountains about 40 million saplings of forestry and garden crops. Groves of walnut, pistachio nut, almond and apricot trees have become more widespread in the valleys, while in the ravines spruce and juniper plantings have extended their frontiers. (1630 GMT)

3 January

Altay agronomists have completed a draft of sowing plans: Four million hectares will be sown with spring wheat, barley, oats and groats. Large areas are to be sown with millet for fodder. Tilling equipment has been overhauled, and the tractor overhaul is going well. The harvest of winter vegetable crops began today in Surkhan-Darya Oblast. Early cabbage occupied 3,000 hectares this autumn which is considerably more than in the previous season. Supply of these cabbages to industrial centers in the RSFSR will be extended. (1200 GMT)

This year 1.8 million hectares will be sown with spring crops in Belorussia. Only intensive varieties of bean and grain crops will be sown. To date, 150,000 tons of seeds have been brought up to top condition. (1430 GMT)

4 January

A total of 3 million tons of fertilizer will be applied by about 1,500 specialized agrochemical groups in Kazakhstan during spring sowing. In Belorussia, 95 percent of cultivators, sowing machines and plows have been repaired for use in spring sowing. (1630 GMT)

6 January

The Kuban has dispatched 50,000 tons of corn hybrid seed to other parts of the country. (0700 GMT)

7 January

Snow retention work is being completed on the first 1 million hectares in Omsk Oblast. This is very important in view of the small reserves of moisture in the soil. In the steppe zone of Saratov Oblast construction has begun on the southern massif of the Volga irrigation system. This will permit another 92,000 hectares of land to be sown to cereals, forage crops, potatoes and other vegetables. Saratov Oblast has the largest acreage of irrigated land in the RSFSR: more than 500,000 hectares. (0500 GMT)

The grain growers of the Tselinograd Oblast are preparing good seed for the forthcoming spring sowing operations. Practically all the seed -- 95 percent -- is certified [konditsionnyy]; 80 percent of its corresponds to classes 1 and 2. The farms of the major Atbasarskiy, Makinskiy and Balkashinskiy Rayons have completed their seed preparation. This year, for the first time, half of the oblast's entire fields -- about 1.5 million hectares -- will be sown with seeds of new, high-yield varieties of wheat and barley. (1000 GMT)

RSFSR AGRICULTURE MINISTER'S BOOK REVIEWED

LD072208 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] "Russian Agriculture -- the 11th 5-Year Period." This is the title of a monograph which has been published under the general editorship of Leonid Yakovlevich Florentyev, RSFSR minister of agriculture. The book contains a wealth of reference material giving a comprehensive account of the republic's agriculture. There is also a collection of articles by leading specialists. They consider the ways in which the production of grain and livestock produce is to develop in the present 5-year period. Basically, it is a commentary on various sections of our Food Program. It details how the material-technical base of the countryside will be consolidated and its social reorganization.

The authors critically analyze the work experience of various branches of agriculture, and highlight reserves, the utilization of which may be most successful in future years.

The section entitled "Advanced Experience" is of great interest. It briefly comments on farms where interesting innovations have been implemented and which have been of great use. The book is published by the (Ros-Sel-Khoz) Publishing House.